

The Commons

OCTOBER, 1904

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The Commons

Number 10—Vol. IX

Ninth Year

Chicago, October, 1904

With The Editor

The New Internationalism

Labor Organizing Across Frontiers

In hailing the new movements for international relationships, which are the most significant signs of the new times, let us not forget the old ones which groped toward the light through a darkness that could be felt,—at least by those in a vanguard leading the forlorn hope—"The Internationals" used to scare the world. It was not only because those social theorists, who tried to drive the thick end of the wedge in first, were thought to be destructive conspirators against the established order of things. It was more because of the mere suggestion they gave of organizing common human interests across national frontiers. If workingmen were allowed to organize in international unions, argued the patriots of every land, what would become of patriotism?

Nevertheless national labor unions are naturally, and with no loss to their own or their country's patriotism, growing international in their interests, scope and fellowship. American and Canadian fellow-craftsmen find it as necessary to treat with each other for "reciprocity," as Congress and the Do-

minion Parliament to discuss commercial treaties.

The exchange of fraternal delegates by the British Trade Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor, and such international conventions as the miners of the two continents have recently held in Paris, bid fair to grow into a world organization of labor. Its "solidarity" may transcend the international trusts of capital. Dealing with men more than with money, it will be better able to control competitive divisiveness within and across national boundaries. Its component parts consisting of large masses of fellow-craftsmen, it would unite them on the basis of an international association of national units. They will never be able to expatriate themselves as does so much of the world's capital which owns no flag, but sails its bottoms under any one that it pays best to float.

The socialists at their international Congress in Brussels rallied delegates not only from the continental countries but many from Great Britain and the United States, and some even from Argentine for the discussion of such broadly common interests as "Militarism," "Protection and Free Trade," "Housing of the People," "International Solidarity and Arbitration."

Capital Becoming a Hostage for the World's Peace

There can be little doubt of the fact, so widely commented upon, that politics are widely becoming commercialized. Commercial men and interests dominate political parties and governmental policies, as never before,—except when the people are sufficiently concerned to have their own way, as they always can when they really want to enough to unite. There is more than a suspicion that governments become tools and national interests are ruthlessly sacrificed to wage commercial wars, such as the Amsterdam and London mining syndicates forced upon the Boer and British peoples. But the "soul of good" in "things evil" begins to evolve even from a menace so threatening as this has been to the fairest hopes and noblest passions of the race.

For vested interests are rapidly becoming so international in character and so incalculably valuable to "the powers" on both sides of all lines, that they promise to range selfishness itself on the side of peace. When the commercial world becomes somewhat more of a joint-stock company armies and navies may be little more than an international police.

Association of the Peoples

No contemporary movement is more significant than the Interparliamentary Union which recently held its twelfth session at the St. Louis Exposition. Its 250 representatives of practically every constitutional government are the guests of the United States Government on their visit to the principal cities between New York and Denver. Congress extended the hospitality of the country by appropriating \$50,000 for

their traveling expenses and entertainment. Started in 1888 at Paris by members of the French Chamber of Deputies and of the British Parliament, the Interparliamentary Union has held eleven sessions at the great centers of the world including besides Paris, London, Rome, Berne, The Hague, Brussels and Buda-Pest and Vienna. A year ago at the latter city 600 delegates represented every constitutional government in Europe. Turkey and Russia, being ruled by autocrats, were not among them. But the Czar had a personal representative at Buda-Pest six years ago and issued his call soon afterwards for the international conference which secured the establishment of The Hague Court of Arbitration. Members of Congress, led by Representative Bartholdt of Missouri, formed an American branch of the Union only last year. It already has a bill before Congress authorizing the President to issue an invitation to the governments of the world for a conference "to devise plans looking to the negotiation of arbitration treaties between the United States and the different nations, and also to discuss the advisability of, and, if possible, agree upon, a gradual reduction of armaments." The purpose of the Union is wholly in line with practical parliamentary action.

Men are organizing locally as well as internationally to promote arbitration, who have never been within reach of the avowed "Peace Societies." Had it not been, however, for the International Peace Congress, which honors our country for the second time by convening at Boston, for its thirteenth session, the great cause which it is leading would not now have attained a pace of progress which steadily gains upon that of war.

But never is it to be forgotten that at the head of the very mixed multitudes which are lining up under the banners of peace to command the arbitration of international differences and promote the brotherhood of the race, marches the little, yet potent, "Society of Friends" whose benignant presence has kept the heart of the modern world warmer and its hope of peace alive.

Thus the cause of "God and the People," which was not brought to its triumph by the *imperium in imperio* of an ecclesiastical Holy Roman Empire, nor yet by "The International" which sought to dissolve nations into a world of individuals, grows apace through what Mazzini summoned all men to enter—"The Association of the Peoples."

Heroism of Conviction a Basis for Reconciliation

These war times in industry are indeed to be dreaded. But like all great crises that turn the course of history or personal experience they, too, are heroic. Their strikes and lockouts are no more mere personal quarrels than were the great sectional issues which brought on the "irrepressible conflict" in Congress and on the fateful fields of fratricidal strife. There were deep-seated, long-grown convictions as to sectional interests and constitutional rights behind that struggle north and south of Mason and Dixon's line before and during the war, just as there are the instinct of self-preservation and the claim to equality before the law in this much more complicated and far more dangerous struggle between the industrial classes, who can neither get on without each other nor with each other, and therefore cannot secede and let each other alone, even if they both wanted to.

To recognize the heroism of real conviction on either side of the economic line of battle will give to each that respect for the other which at least relieves modern warfare of personal hatred and its grosser inhumanities.

But that does not go far toward a peaceful solution of differences thus found to be outstanding mere personal feeling. It may even prolong and make more determined the struggle for the principles found to be at stake. At best this respect for the consciences and heroisms arrayed against each other can only help the contestants and the public to come closer to the root of what is really at issue.

Common Ground for Both to Stand On

Here where we start to look at both sides, we begin to question our own knowledge of the situation, our own "side" of the case, even our own standard of judgment. We are not so sure we know it all or that we are all right. It sometimes seems when we try to put ourselves in the others' place as though there were actually two rights in hateful and hopeless conflict. We are forced to say to ourselves in secret: "If I were in the other fellow's place I would stand for what he does. I could not help fighting for my family's standard of living. However differently I would wage the war for the protection of my home and its loved ones, we who live and work under the same conditions would have to stand together or fall one by one."

Any one who has gone thus far toward the other's point of view has already got where he can at least see common ground for both to stand on.

But it will be new ground. Some old positions, behind which we have barri-

caded ourselves and fought for dear life, will prove hopelessly untenable.

Why Not Recognize the Virtue of Necessity on Both Sides

Have we felt the necessity to combine our capital or industry for the sake of economy, safety and profits and even resist to its defeat or evasion the legislation ignorantly or unjustly aimed to force those to compete whose interest it is to combine? How, then, can we continue to deny the same right to the great mass of our fellow men and by law, or "the necessity that knows no law," force them to bargain singly when they can make their best bargains together; to bargain singly with us when we cannot do business at all except as partners, stockholders, corporations in national and even international combination? If at this age of the world business must be combined to succeed, why force these competitors of ours to do their business as though they lived in that former age of the world when each one could mind his own business without any one's else interference? Why? Is not the real reason because it is to our own interest or convenience to hold others to the old and less advantageous way, while free to take advantage of the new way ourselves? Is not all this concern for the "freedom of contract" of the skilled workman, the non-union workman, the working woman restricted by law from contracting for more than for certain hours, the working child whose childhood and schooling are legally protected, a bit inconsistent if not insincere? Why not equal concern for the little tradesman, manufacturer, railroad or other corporation, whose freedom of contract is as ruthlessly ignored or overborne by the majorities, or more often

by the minorities, who happen to have the power to coerce, peaceably if they can, forcibly if they must? Two wrongs don't make a right. But why is the wrong against personal liberty and public interest so much worse on one side than upon the other?

Old Standards Tested by New Times

To take a still higher point of view to test our souls by: Have we not, until now, been teaching, drilling, disciplining our men, women and children at home, school and church, by their loyalty to family, party, patriotism and religion, to sacrifice self and stand together for interests common to all or any part of them? Have we not invested with patriotic and even religious sanctity those who sacrificed themselves for "their own" folk, or country or faith? How, then, do these virtues suddenly become vices, these heroes and heroines all at once become sordid conspirators, these martyrs nothing less than murderers when they combine, stake everything dear to each, risk all, and stop short of the loss of nothing, in "sympathetic" action to save their own or their fellow workers' standard of living? It may not be wise, it may even be unjust, but we submit that what is by common consent considered wholly meritorious in every other sphere for self-sacrifice cannot be wholly reprehensible in that of industrial relationship, where it is hardest and costliest to exercise it. What is attributed to the very best in men elsewhere cannot be attributed to the very worst in them here.

It looks, then, as though some of us were being tried and found wanting. Our morals may be good as far as they go, but they do not go far enough to apply to others with whom we have to

do. We want others to do unto us as we are not yet willing to do unto them. The industrial world has outgrown our moral sense. We are making our profits under the modern factory system, but deal with our fellow workers or want them to deal with us, rather, as though they were living under the old outworn and discarded "domestic system" of individual industry.

Our "souls" therefore need to catch up with these "times" which try them. Our morals, born of the "good old times," need to be adjusted, or perhaps only to be extended, so that they cover the life we are now living, the working world we are now at work in, the men, women and children now working with us.

It is at this point that our souls are tried and need to be, for their own sakes, as well as to make progress possible.

Of "times that try men's souls" we speak as though they were to be dreaded and yet belong to the "heroic" age. But when we look back upon them from some safe distance we are generally forced to confess that the "times" were not more out of joint than that the "souls"—our own or others'—needed to be tried.

Where Labor, Law and the Nation are One

Labor Day is to be counted among our most distinctively "American institutions." The country owes it to the public spirit and wise legislative influence of organized labor. Its establishment by law as a national holiday is an impressive proof of the respect for trades unionism shown by Congress and most of our State legislatures. As the joint product of these two forces, Labor Day stands as the sign of that relation-

ship between the labor movement and the public, which is vital to the interests of both. There is a sentiment in certain quarters that organized labor is self-sufficient, and needs no help from public opinion. The very existence of the public as a third party to the disputes between employes and employers is denied, first by one and then by the other of the contestants, but rarely by both in the same struggle.

The history of trades unionism in England and America so far has never proven this claim to independence to be the fact. When has labor ever attained even its legal rights without the pressure of public opinion? Surely not in the whole six centuries of English labor legislation. What great issue has ever been won by it without appeal to or help from those outside its own ranks?

These questions do not imply that rights or progress have been or could be won for any class of people by others, without their own supreme effort. It may be doubted whether liberty, or any real progress, has ever been superimposed, much less forced upon any people by others. Nevertheless, no sectional or class movement, unaided and alone has ever won out in this country. Without making good its claim to be a part of the common life and the community's interest, no "cause" has triumphed here.

The value of Labor Day may not be estimated in days' wages, but it is an invaluable working capital to the whole labor cause. It is like "preferred stock" which the whole nation takes with its holiday once a year, a share apiece. Nowhere else on earth is a whole working day set apart by law to the interests of labor as a national holiday. But to have it dedicated to the

glory of work, as rated not in dollars and cents, but in human values, not in "goods" produced or sold, but in the good of the producers, handlers and sellers, as well as consumers—that is what gives Labor Day a value all its own.

Labor Day is therefore one of the chief assets of labor not only, but of the whole American people. Not to be apart from, but a part of the greater body politic, is the only way for organized labor to "come to its own."

The Loss of Charles B. Spahr

At just this juncture in our industrial relationships, American economic literature has lost an influence all too rare in the death of Charles B. Spahr. While he had that sadly exceptional capacity which could see and weigh both sides of a situation, as a writer he never hesitated to judge between them. There was a decisive weight of emphasis which he was wont to throw in the scale that helped the popular verdict to tilt the beam in the direction it ought to go. From the columns of the "Outlook," which so long carried the force of his conviction upon industrial issues into the judgment of independent readers, the clear and ringing notes he struck have been sorely missed since he withdrew from its staff. In "Current Literature" under his editorial management much was expected. "The Working People of America," of whose trade achievements and relationships he wrote so justly yet appreciatively, had good reason to anticipate further service from him such as few men could render them. His well-grounded and fearlessly outspoken volume on "The Present Distribution of wealth in the United States" was a permanently valuable contribution to our economic literature, which showed his capacity for thorough work and the caliber of his high courage. The open-mindedness which gave reasonableness

to his cogent contributions, added charm to his manly personality. For the balance of his years, which seemed to be due his work a long while yet, the country stands in unrequited need.

Finale and Aftermath

Our contention for the necessity of mediation in settling the stock yards strike has been amply justified by the facts reported in other columns. For the conciliation which men were not manly enough to make the community has two women to thank, Miss Mary E. McDowell and Dr. Cornelia DeBey. The expected aftermath of crime, already reported by the police, is charged up by them to the importation of those elements among the strike breakers which we predicted would become a burden and a menace to property and life in Chicago.

A Triumph of Aggressive Honesty

A legal victory has consummated the long struggle of the Chicago school teachers led by Miss Haley and Miss Goggan against arbitrary reduction of salaries during the school year. Judge Dunne has recently held that the original fixing of salaries and the subsequent election of teachers and their performance of work constitute a contract that the Board of Education cannot abrogate. But congratulations are in order not so much upon the actual attainment of the end sought as upon the tremendous obstacles that were surmounted in the process. In this respect a great service has been rendered to the tax-paying public in general. For in getting at the real reasons for reductions it was disclosed that the contracted conditions of the city treasury was due to the non-collection of a large class of taxes systematically ignored by the tax collecting officials. Large corporation tax-dodgers were brought to book by the unconquerable determination of these two women whose only weapon was a persistence in ferreting out and bringing to public notice the truth of the situation.

Social Tendencies of the Industrial Revolution

A Review of the Century for the Department of Social Science, St. Louis Exposition Congress of Arts and Science

By Graham Taylor

The Industrial Revolution, during the initial stage of which the nineteenth century dawned, dates and characterizes our contemporary conditions and order of life. The political revolutions of the eighteenth century were the expiring struggles of the dissolving feudal solidarity, rather than the travail attending the birth of the present age.

The individualism, which intervened between the mediævalism ending with the French Revolution and the modern industrial era inaugurated by the introduction of machinery and the factory system, is proving to be more transitional than persistent. Its phenomenal achievements and forceful individuals are exceptional enough to claim an age of their own. But they were destined to fulfil the higher function of preparing a way for, and making possible the still farther reaching development which is only now evolving its form and order. The social disintegration intervening between these most distinct eras allowed, if it did not compel, the evolution of the individual as the new unit of society. No sooner had the type of this individualized unit been fairly and firmly set, than the process of reintegration set in. The forces resident in or centered about machine production and the subdivision of labor began to assert their superiority to the domination of the individual who created and, until recently, controlled them. This reintegration of social units, more independent than had ever existed before or can ever exist on the same scale again while present tendencies last, is the phenomenon that dis-

tinguishes the close of the nineteenth and opening of the twentieth century.

The tendency of these times in all spheres of life has been from individual independence to the interdependence of man upon man, craft upon craft, class upon class, nation upon nation; from unrestricted competition to a combination of capital and labor, as inevitable and involuntary as the pull of the force of gravity; from the personal maintenance of the freedom of contract to the only possible exercise of that right among increasing multitudes by collective bargaining; from local political autonomy and state rights to national and international consolidations; from racial populations to a cosmopolitan, composite citizenship. That is, the irresistible ground swell and tidal movement of the present quarter century has been away from individualism toward a new solidarity. While the individual instead of the kindred group is its primary, constituent, unit, yet, as has been none too strikingly said, we are "struggling with this preposterous initial fact of the individual,—the only possible social unit and no longer a thinkable possibility, the only real presence and never present." But the synthesis of these elusive factors of the social problem, never more contradictory than now, was seen to be fundamentally inherent in human nature in the vision of a poet, who long antedated our era, and sang of it thus:

"Man is all symmetry,
Full of proportions, one limb to another,
And all to all the world beside.
Each part may call the farthest brother,
For head with foot hath private amity,
And both with moons and tides."

The Social Pull of the Economic Force of Gravity

The tendencies of modern industrialism have been most determinative, of course, in the industrial group. The freedom of contract, conceded to be the inalienable right of the individual, is no longer protected or effectively guaranteed by the law alone. Combination on either side controls the market and leaves the unorganized individual to accept what is offered with no alternative. To bargain freely with combined capital, the individual laborer has found it an economic necessity to organize his craft, even at the expense of abridging his personal liberty. The collective trade-agreement, on one or both sides, is inevitably superseding the individual contract in the labor market. The form of organization developed by labor to meet this requirement, left the individual employer or corporation as helplessly at the dictation of the united employes, as ever the laborer had found himself at the mercy of his employer in dealing single handed and alone with organized capital. Employers' associations became as much of an economic necessity as labor unions. Both are organized on essentially the same basis of an instinctive class-conscious impulse for self-preservation. Each obliges the other to conform the type and tactics of its organization to virtually the same model. Swiftly and inevitably both constituents in the industrial group are adjusting their business methods and relationships to these inexorable conditions of modern industry.

Beneath all the overlying turmoil and friction injustice and menace attending this rapid and radical readjustment, there is to be clearly discerned the evolution of a larger liberty, at least for the class, a rising standard of living for the mass, a stronger defense against the aggression of one class upon another, and a firmer basis and more authoritative power to make and maintain peaceful and permanent settlements of industrial differences. More slowly, yet surely, there are developing legal forms and sanctions, which not only

make for justice and peace between the parties of the first and second parts, but for the recognition of the rights and the final authority of that third and greatest party to every industrial interest and difference—the Public.

Emancipation of Cities from Commercialized Politics

Urban conditions most persistently deteriorated under the most persistent neglect through the whole period of the abnormal growth and complexity of city populations attending the establishment of the factory system. But they have fairly begun to show the hopeful and widespread indications of reorganization, of a constructive policy and of a more democratic intelligence, interest and control. Most conspicuous of the movements for civic betterment and fundamental to the success of all others is the rescue of municipal administration from partisan political control. The seizure of the balance of power between parties, by voters who thus declare their independence of national issues in municipal action, has proved to be the only hope of emancipating urban life from exploitation for party spoils.

In Great Britain it has broken new lines of cleavage upon which the citizens divide upon local issues according to their predilections and ideals. The marvelous rise of civic enterprise and administration out of the degraded corruption in which English cities were sunk prior to the middle of the last century is largely due to exchanging the names and issues of "Tories" and "Liberals" for those of "Moderates" and "Progressives" in policies and politics. In this country the redemption of our second largest city from the most avowedly debased control of thoroughly commercialized partisan politics is the most marked achievement in the American municipal reform movement, that is destined to set the type of method by which only other cities are likely to attain their freedom and progress. Chicago's Municipal Voters' League has proved to be the simplest, and most

effective organization of independent citizens for the information, co-operation, and perpetuation of an electorate loyal to civic patriotism, as well as for the restraint and purification of the management of political parties in cities.

More efficient departmental administration quickly follows every real gain in political regeneration. Such improvement in housing conditions as promise well nigh to abolish the slums in Glasgow, Liverpool and London; the hygienic development of bathing beaches, baths and gymnasiums by the city of Boston; the inspection, licensing and regulation of manufacturing in New York tenement houses, which may yet restore the home to the family from the usurpations of trade; the almost unobserved, yet marvelous, development of the South Park system in Chicago, with its playgrounds and rooms, its outdoor and indoor swimming pools and gymnasiums, and its park houses for neighborhood social centers; the steady rise of a more scientific official and semi-official literature reporting civic conditions and the ways of bettering them, such as have been issued by the London County Council and the first commissioner of the New York City Tenement House Department—these public achievements, prompted or assisted by such voluntary associated efforts as local improvement societies and social settlements, are making possible the collective ownership and operation of municipal enterprises to supplement or supersede inadequate private initiative or management.

Thus may yet be fulfilled the ideal of the "Ancient City" which has never been realized in fact, namely, a federation of families for the uplift and unification of the common life, formed under the sanction of a fundamentally religious faith in each other, and in the obligations and privileges of the brotherhood of all men.

Transformation of Rural Conditions Redistributing Population

Scarcely less pronounced, if of more gradual growth, are the changes which

are transforming the conditions of rural life. The interurban electric railways for freight and passengers, the telephone and rural mail service, the better roadways for bicycles and automobiles, the traveling libraries and permanent centers for educational and social interchange are rapidly relieving the monotony of country life, lightening some of its drudgery, furthering better educational privileges by the union of school districts, making accessible the high school, college and university centers, bringing farmers' institutes and academic associations of economists together for joint sessions, developing the extension work of agricultural colleges, rallying the grange movement; all these things combine to hold out the first hope which has dawned upon the tendency to the excessive density of urban population, and that promises a redistribution of the people which will make possible more normal life both in country and town.

Fate of the Family Under Modern Industrialism

The family has suffered an invasion of its community of interests from many directions. The unity of its kinship has been attenuated by the prevailing influence of excessive individualism, from which none of its relationships have wholly escaped. Among the disintegrating forces directly and powerfully brought to bear against it throughout this industrial age, the first to be reckoned with is the changed economic status of women. Although the woman has always done her full share, if not more, of the world's work upon which the family has depended for its existence and well being, it has been hitherto for the most part done at the heart of the home and the center of the family circle. The domestic system of industry, however, was never ideal, and one of the way-marks of modern industrial progress is undoubtedly to be noted in the separation of the shop from the house and the restoration of the home to the family. But the family has never been subjected to such a

strain as by the increasing industrial necessity for the wife and mother to do so much of her work out of the house and away from her home and children.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AND THRALLDOM OF WOMEN.

The growing economic independence of women may partially compensate for this loss to individual homes by benefiting the institution of marriage in general. For, the abject dependence of so large a proportion of women upon marriage for their livelihood did not previously tend to purify the marital relation, or put the wife in her rightful place on an equality with her husband in the family circle. Capacity for economic independence cannot fail to admit both the man and the woman to the marriage contract on more equal terms and establish the status which it involves, upon a freer and more ingenuous basis.

But great as is the gain of this more just and moral economic independence of woman it is attended with serious disadvantage, not necessarily inherent in it, yet so far closely involved with it. The dependence of the family upon the wife for support is at a fearful cost to childhood and home life, and in a large proportion of cases undermines the self-respect and dependableness of the husband. Those forms or methods of industrialism which have ignored the humanities of sex and age stand, at the judgment seat of the medical profession, the school teacher's experience, the government's statistics and all child labor legislation, convicted of deteriorating the very stock of the race.

CRISIS OF EMIGRATION TO FAMILY LIFE.

Wholesale emigration is for one or two generations a more serious crisis in family life than is generally known. Especially among the less assimilable races, and where a primitive peasant folk are precipitated into the heart of the great and terrible city wilderness, the effect is well nigh destructive not only to family relationships, but to individual character. The man who was seldom or never away from home in the

old country must wander far and wide in search of work or stay away for months to keep it. The woman, if not overworked in industry, is idle as never before in the crowded tenement house. The children, without knowledge of or confidence in the ways of the new world, to compensate for the loss of their restraint and familiarity in the old home land, disobey their parents before learning self-control, have too little schooling before they begin work, and too fragmentary employment to give them the discipline of the shop or the acquisition of a trade. Thus among the many immigrant families who strike root and bear the best fruitage grown on American soil at least, there are not a few which despite the best intent, become the most dangerous sources of pauperism and crime, as do not a few native families removing from country to city.

THE IGNORED FACTOR IN MODERN LIFE.

The precariousness of livelihood, and the enforced mobility of labor, are also a restless undertow which undermines and sweeps away the very foundation of family life. It is the occasion of much of the desertion and divorce which so seriously menace the marriage relation.

Bad housing conditions are so seriously inimical to the very existence of a family worthy of the name, that in self-defense as well as for humanity's sake, great municipalities like those of Glasgow and Liverpool are amply justified in providing workingmen's dwellings for lowest paid laborers, reserving whole blocks of them for widows with their children, and erecting lodging houses for widowers, with special nursery and kindergarten provisions for their motherless little ones.

The way in which family unity is ruthlessly disrupted by sectarian rivalry, the order of home life disregarded by stated public appointments, the separate recreations provided for men and women, younger and older apart, while little or nothing is offered the family group which all its members can enjoy together; these and many

other tendencies of the age denote the family to be the greatest ignored factor of modern life.

But most promptly and hopefully does it respond to the better conditions for its maintenance and development as they supersede the worst, at all these points of resistance.

Industrial Types of Vagrants and Criminals

The tendency thus affecting the groups already considered, by virtue of that fact have very direct bearings upon dependency and delinquency. The type and ratio of both are modified and intensified by the conformity of increasing multitudes to these moulds of character and conditions of life. The legal and philanthropic measures dealing with them are equally conditioned by the same causes.

While, for instance, the tramping of farmer families is noted by Sir Thomas More when sheep ranches first displaced agriculture in England; while landless serfs followed in the wake of the Black Death; yet the modern "tramp" is a distinct species and the exclusive product of our industrial age. He is a terminal of a tendency which gradually evolved him, not indeed without a certain inclination of his own, but far more, in most cases, by reason of forces, for which society was more responsible than he, though almost as powerless as he to control them. Intermittent work in shorter runs and longer hours, intervening idleness and going afield for a job, temporary employment on the Dakota wheat fields or some remote railway extension, discharge at a point too distant, measured by dollars, to get back home without "taking to the road" or "beating his way"; such are some of the short cuts from an industrious life to a career of vagrancy or crime.

The Labor Colony of Germany, the municipal lodging houses of England and America, with state employment bureaus and the necessity to make work, now and then, here and there, to keep the army of the unemployed from

starving; these surely are signs of the new times.

CHILD HELPING LEGISLATION GAINING ON ABUSES.

At no point is legislation gaining at so good a pace upon the wasteful abuses of industrialism, than in the provision for compulsory education, the strict regulation of child labor, the maintenance of juvenile courts and probation officers to deal with delinquent and dependent children, and in furthering and safeguarding the placing out of those who are wards of the state.

Specializing the Social Arts

The tendencies to specialize, combine and democratize the public and private administration of charities and correction are as characteristic of the industrial age as any of its developments. Indeed the whole modern conception, method and movement of philanthropy are hardly conceivable prior to or apart from our present point of view. But only within the last few years has this conformity to those economies and concentrations which are distinctive of industrialism, been so marked. At no previous time has the socially well informed person been expected to know, not something of everything, but everything of something. Specialties have narrowed down and also broadened so that it is more possible to meet this requirement, and yet in so doing find scope for the best academic discipline and culture. Every branch of philanthropy has long since shown the practical value in this specializing accuracy of observation and administration. Never before have more people of strong caliber and large personal equipment been in the social service, professionally and as volunteers. Teachers trained for professorships find satisfaction and reputation as superintendents of reformatories. Men of recognized talent and attainment, both in scholarly and business pursuits, are found in the wardenships of prisons, at the head of child-saving institutions, serving as chiefs of departments in city governments and in secretaryships of State

Boards of Charities. Their service, as well as their literature, is receiving deserved, though belated, academic recognition as of scientific value. Their specialties are taking rightful place among the arts.

The economy of personal and financial resource in combining the same and allied interests results, in the largest output for the least expenditure in philanthropy as in business. The Charity Organization Society has become as much of an economic necessity and as essential a part of the equipment of cities and towns as the clearing house of the banks.

The Democratic Spirit Modifying Charities and Correction

But this and such kindred developments as State Boards of Charities, State Charities Aid Societies, and State and National Conferences of Charities and Correction are not more expressive of an economic instinct than of a democratic spirit. Indeed all these more representative associations arose coincident with and to meet the demands of the people's assumption of the control of their own affairs. Local autonomy in a district became co-ordinate yet co-operative with the centralizing, yet exclusive headquarters which formerly claimed the whole field. Paid official positions became all the more indispensable and honorable, when under the supervision of the unpaid representatives of the public. The salaried expert was recognized to be all the more a leader when there were voluntary workers and friendly visitors to be had. The few and select donors of large gifts who not without reason have sometimes been suspected of monopolizing the "Lady Bountiful" type of benevolence, have found neither their legitimate influence nor the scope of their giving curtailed by sharing the democratic spirit which now supersedes whatever exclusiveness there used to be in philanthropy.

Moreover this spirit has begun to save the loss of individuality suffered by those in the dependent and delinquent groups who have been massed

impersonally and indiscriminately together under the congregate system of institutional administration. The reversion to the more normal type of individual life in smaller family or household groups is the belated recognition of the democratic right of each to personal consideration, which all are bound to respect in the care of the dependent, the defective and the delinquent. In respecting this right the community equally regards its own welfare by taking the most direct means of restoring to self help and rightful place among men, those whose capacity for self-control and usefulness is weakened, if not destroyed, by treatment, not less a violation of nature, than it is inimical to public interests. In line with the same farther sighted humanitarian economy is the enlistment of whole populations, through their city governments, to grapple with their social situation as a whole. The Elberfeld policy toward dependency, the public control of the liquor traffic as in Scandinavia, the marshalling of the legislative authority, resources of taxation and a constructive civic program for the abolition of the slums and the equalizing of privilege and opportunity, as the borough and county councils of England are doing it; the regulation of industrial forces in the interest of the whole people, as in Australia and New Zealand; such attempts to reach a saner social order and realize a more human ideal of collective life are impressive way-marks of progress such as only the whole community can achieve for itself.

Reawakening of the Religious Social Consciousness

The personal and community interests we have been considering are so permeated by the ideals and influence of the religious group that our review would be conspicuously deficient if we did not note its tendencies in the same direction. Slowly but surely the religious social consciousness is dawning again. Its appearance, now as before, is identified with the world view and movement of the churches. Its social and even industrial expression has al-

ready begun to be worthily chronicled from original sources, with scientific spirit and historical perspective, notably in Dennis' three massive volumes bearing the significant title, "Christian Missions and Social Progress." This first work of its kind deserves to be classed with Ulhorn's "Charity in the Primitive Church," Schmidt's "Social Results of Early Christianity," and Brace's "Gesta Christi." The exigencies of missionary work on foreign fields, which is represented by this author, has not allowed the dualistic separation of religion from life, and has necessitated a closer identification of the common faith with the domestic, industrial and community interests of the common life. Especially marked is this in some of the exceptionally successful work among the subject races and abject classes. No more expert work has been done by government, or under scientific, educational auspices than in some Christian missions and schools among the islanders of the Pacific, the negroes of Zululand, and in the American black belt by the American Missionary Association and under Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee, with the Indians at Hampton and Carlisle and on some of the reservations.

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE CHURCHES.

The condition of life especially in the cities of Christendom are developing church agencies, which though still far from adequate to meet the religious situation or the ethical need, promise much development. Typical among them are the Inner Mission and also Naumann's social propaganda in Germany, Christian social movements in the established and Free Churches of England and the Adult Schools of the English Friends; the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Association, with their physical, educational, railway and shop departments and equipment, the institutional type of church work, especially that of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York and the Wesleyans in London, and the reawakening among the sodalities and institutions of the American Roman Catholic

Church to contemporary needs and methods.

These church activities are already having their formative influence upon the worship, thought and legislation of ecclesiastical bodies. Hymns of social feeling and ideal are finding their place in authorized collections, hitherto almost exclusively individualistic. Christian ethics, and even dogmatic theologies are placing new emphasis upon their bearings on the collective life. The policy of every church is becoming more democratic. The religious sentiment is being humanized. And last, and we fear least, but ultimately most inevitable of all the movements within religious bodies, is to be noted the pressure, chiefly exerted from without, toward federating with each other for purposes of defense and co-operative effort, though not for the organic unity of government, creed or ritual. The most conspicuously valuable results yet attained in this direction are recorded in the sociological census taken by the Federation of Churches and Christian Workers of the City of New York.

Social Tendencies of Education

We have yet to trace the reciprocal influence of the social tendencies of this industrial age and contemporary educational movements upon each other.

About the middle of the last century the need of a new nomenclature to designate these new movements of thought and action began to be met. In 1830 August Comte coined the term "sociology" to include the group of sciences, which he designated "Social Physics." Very slowly, however, is the terminology thus initiated, finding its way into anything like accepted usage. The first title page in American periodical literature, bearing a sociological term and scope, is that of Simon Stern's "Social Science Review," which appeared in 1865. It discovered its *raison d'être* in the Civil War, which it predicted "will probably produce many changes in our social and political institutions," so that "it has become of the utmost importance that we should at this period, more especially, render our-

selves familiar with the natural laws which govern mankind in its social state, and that public opinion and legislation may be in accordance with, and not in contravention of, those natural laws." But the prospectus was so far removed from any scientific definition as to construct out of the single term sociology a veritable omnibus, into which with our all too familiar tendency to overcrowding, it packed about all the political, economic, domestic and moral issues then before the American people.

HERBERT SPENCER AND CHARLES BOOTH.

The new point of view required a re-investigation and re-classification of the old and additional phenomena attending the tendency to such a gregarious, yet segregated life, such a subdivided and interdependent labor as the world had never known before. In the tables of his "Descriptive Sociology," Herbert Spenser suggested, if he did not determine, a scientific classification of at least historical and literary data, which stimulated research and encouraged the application of the inductive method.

It was not until twenty years ago that any attempt, to be compared with it, was made to classify and summarize contemporary data. All England was then startled by the "bitter cry of outcast London," which was piteously but sternly raised by some Christian mission workers in the then all too little known East End. Amidst the clamor of protesting or appealing voices, over the mute sufferings of poverty stricken thousands and the growing discontent at the neglect of such conditions, one man went silently to work to get at the root of the problem. He stood almost alone in his insistent and persistent self-exaction to ascertain accurately the facts of the actual situation. The opening years of the twentieth century have registered no greater achievement than the completion of Mr. Charles Booth's "Life and Labor in London," at the close of the nineteenth. The worth of this work, not only in London, but to all the cities of the world can scarcely be overestimated. Its collaboration of

the hitherto unco-ordinate facts of official inquiry, departmental reports, and government census, is even more valuable in setting a standard of scientific exactation and method, than in its great direct results. It supplies a practical classification and method, which by a consensus of opinion, are already widely recognized and used. Its conclusions are models of tested accuracy, cautious conservatism, and the fearless facing of ascertained facts. Its permanent reference value is assured by well nigh perfect tabulations, abstract of contents, and full indices. Already the type of scientific investigations set by this colossal work of London's great shipper is reproducing itself in books of other thoroughly original investigators which deserve to be classed with it. It is a pleasure thus to rate Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree's "Poverty: a Study of Town Life" in York, the report on the housing conditions of Manchester by Mr. T. H. Marr, and the London Daily News' investigation of "Religious Life in London," edited by Mr. R. Mudie-Smith.

CENTERS FOR ARCHIVE AND RESEARCH.

The endowment and equipment of the "Musée Social" in Paris furnishes and suggests a provision for perpetuating such efforts, preserving their data and publishing their results, which is sure to create similar centers for archive and research. With far too little resource, and therefore on a less exhaustive scale, the Institute of Social Service in New York is gathering a valuable collection of clippings, pamphlets, photographs, official reports and books bearing particularly upon the welfare work of industrial establishments and municipal departments. The "Museum of Security" in Amsterdam by its permanent exhibition of appliances for protecting and saving life has established a center of unique interest and far reaching practical value. Great libraries, notably the Crerar Library in Chicago, have begun to specialize in these departments on a scale which promises to locate at several great centers, not only exhaustive collections of

their literature but also original data, which will open new sources to research.

The rise of university departments of sociology and social economics, so fully reported in the proceedings of the International Conference of Charities and Correction and Philanthropy held at Chicago in connection with the Columbian Exposition in 1893, has been followed by a steady and apparently permanent institutional development, almost exclusively confined, however, to American institutions. The practical knowledge for living and working together has begun to be directly inculcated in the teaching of our technical and public schools.

The co-operative societies for social research, discussion and publication have differentiated along the lines of their theoretical and practical specialties. While the Social Science Association continues to cover its very general field, the American Statistical Association, the American Economic Association and the American Academy of Political and Social Science have added greatly to the expert personnel and equipment of their several departments of research. The recent organization in London of the "Sociological Society" for the study of social theory, and the "Institute of Social Service," suggested by and modeled after the practical purpose and methods of the society bearing the same name in New York, assures needed reinforcement at the great centers of observation and scientific resource in the Old World.

TRAINING FOR THE SOCIAL ARTS.

The most natural and timely sequels of these industrial and social movements are the schools which are arising at the greatest centers of activity to offer both general courses and technical training in the theory, history and practice of what deserve to be called the social arts. The demand for trained helpers is being widely increased, not only by the growing opportunities and exactions of these manifold agencies, but also by the extension of the civil service law to cover positions in public

charitable and reformatory institutions. But the offer of the supply of trained helpers is the surest way to create the demand for them where it does not exist.

One of the earliest initiatives in this direction was taken by Miss Helen Gladstone at the London Woman's University settlement, in conducting a small training class from year to year, the graduates of which immediately found positions of trust and usefulness throughout the kingdom. The Charity Organization Society of that city has recently brought about the co-operation of this class which the "School of Economics," some departments of the University of London and its own expert force, to establish a "School of Sociology and Social Economics," which is in the second year of successful operation. In New York City a well patronized summer school, conducted for several years by the Charity Organization Society, has evolved the "School of Philanthropy." In its very full curriculum, covering the whole academic year, it has the co-operation of the Columbia University faculty, and the Association of Neighborhood Workers, both of which, independently, offer some courses of similar instruction. In Boston the study class of the Charity Organization Society has been the pioneer effort, which is now to be supplemented by the "Training School for Social Workers," jointly conducted by Harvard University and Simmons College for Women.

In connection with its University College in the center of the city, the University of Chicago has opened "The Institute of Social Science and Arts," aided by experts at the head of several specialized agencies and branches of knowledge, supplemented also by the allied departments at the University, together with "the laboratory for statistical research work." It has also announced a four years' course at the University in the new department of Religious and Social Science leading to an academic degree. At all these schools the great centers at which they are located are used as laboratories in

which the students are assigned to carefully supervised and progressive field-work which constitutes a principal part of their training. The appointment of a standing committee by the National Conference of Charities and Correction will greatly promote the progress, cooperation and unity of these courses.

Industrial Tendencies to Internationalism

Perhaps more significant than all the tendencies of industrialism which we have noted is that which sets irresistably toward international relationships. Beneath the sinister influence, which commercial interests have had upon politics, there may be a larger good evolving. But the very elements which have been creating internal strife and provoking foreign wars may soon become so international in their proportion as to be the chief impediment to war and mainstay of the world's peace. Organized workingmen who were the first to frighten the world by ignoring national boundaries, are, without the loss of

their patriotism, naturally developing international unions out of their national organizations. These great craft brotherhoods by stretching hearts and hands across seas to organize for their common interests across every frontier, bid fair by their refusal to fight each other to command the world's peace. Among the world's congresses convening at this Exposition, none registers a higher water mark of human progress than the "Interparliamentary Union," with its imposing delegation representing practically all the constitutional governments of the world. The twelfth session of this Union is immediately followed by the Thirteenth International Peace Conference at Boston, with a personnel and prestige which more than keeps pace with the progress of war.

With the possibility of this climax in sight and in view of the profound changes in social condition which it has already wrought, the Industrial Revolution is making good its claim to be the most radical transformation through which civilization has ever passed.

Boston's Municipal Gymnasiums

By William R. Woodbury, M. D.,

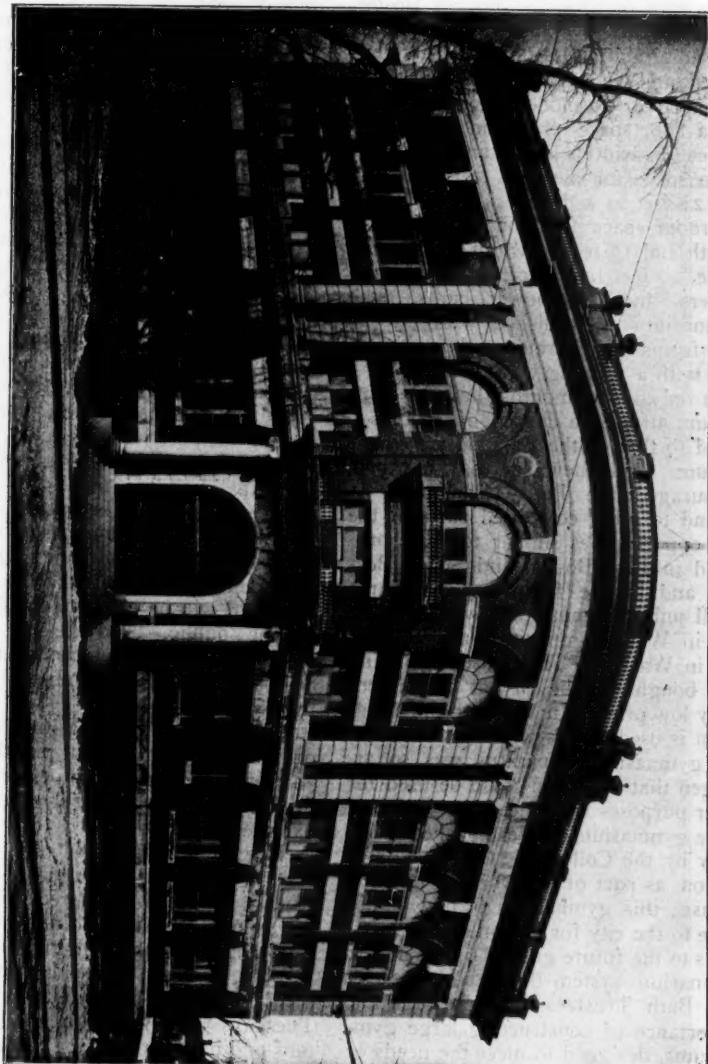
Medical Director

In 1897 a public spirited woman, Mrs. Daniel Ahl, purchased a building in East Boston which originally was a skating rink, enlarged it, equipped it as a combination gymnasium and bath, and presented it to the city. This was the first free indoor gymnasium in this country. The East Boston Gymnasium was placed in charge of the Bath Department, a new city department created in 1898 by Mayor Tinney, and administered by seven unpaid trustees, two of them being women, appointed by the Mayor for terms of five years each.

A thoroughly trained instructor was appointed; regular and progressive class work for men, women and children was arranged; and the gymnasium

was opened to the general public free of charge. Two days in the week the entire building was reserved for the exclusive use of the women and girls. Almost immediately the attendance became so large, especially afternoons and evenings, that the capacity of the gymnasium was taxed to the utmost. And substantial testimony came from the master of the Lyman School and the police captain of the East Boston station in corroboration of the physical and moral benefits the gymnasium was working particularly among the children. Certainly the municipal gymnasium idea as it developed appeared to be an undertaking about which there could be no reasonable doubt as to its usefulness and success. Encouraged

Les Communes



A CITY'S WELFARE BUILDING

Columbia Road, Boston, containing Gymnasium, Baths, Swimming Pool and Assembly Halls

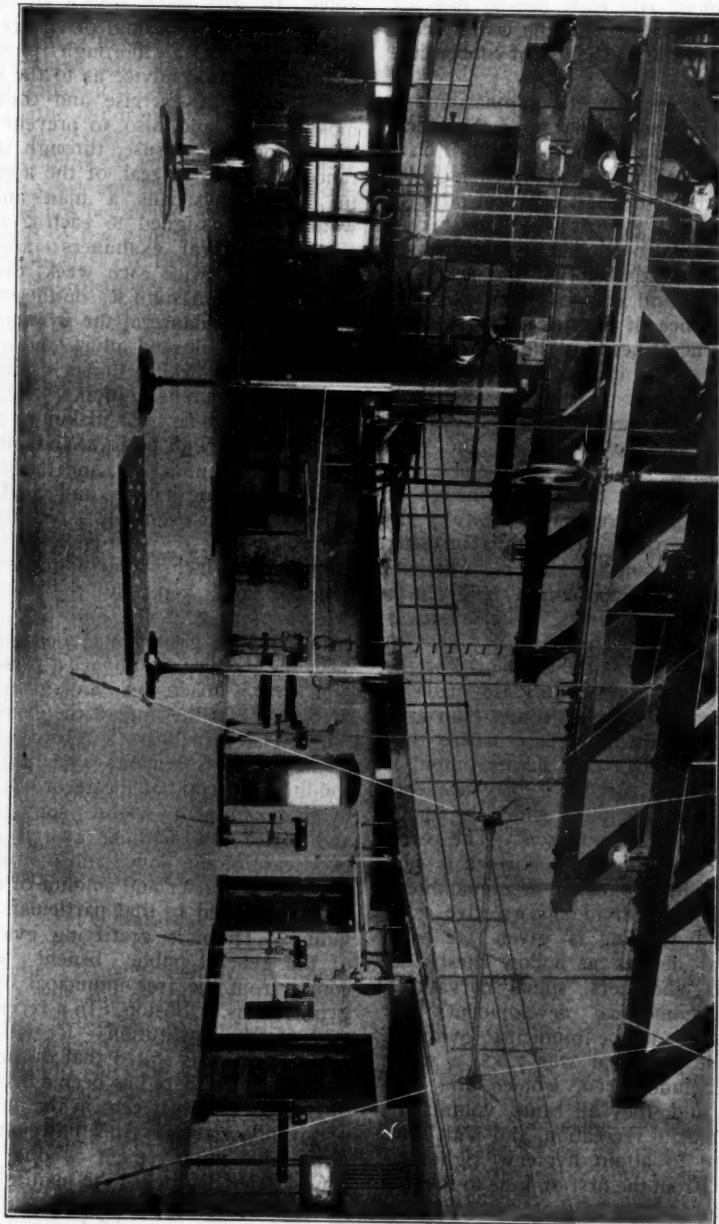
by this success the city government voted an appropriation for a new public gymnasium, the first to be built by the city, on D Street, South Boston, upon land owned by the state; and in the winter of 1899 the Fourth Boston Gymnasium was opened to the public. It is admirably lighted, thoroughly ventilated, and well equipped; and in every particular it is a model gymnasium. It has a floor space 98 feet in length and 68 feet in width; locker and dressing-room space for men, 52 feet in length and 24 feet in width; locker and dressing-room space for women 88 feet in length and 17 feet in width; bath-room space, 20 feet by 13 feet, including 300 lockers and 20 shower baths. The gymnasium is furnished with all the best forms of apparatus and has a gallery with a running track.

In only a few months the new gymnasium attained a degree of success—equal to that of the East Boston Gymnasium. This new success, in turn, encouraged the Bath Department to extend to other congested parts of the city opportunities similar to those provided in East Boston and South Boston, and in the following year three small public gymsnasiums were opened, one in Ward 9, one in Ward 19, and one in Ward 7. The Ward 9 building was bought by the city at an exceedingly low price. In Ward 19 the ward-room is used; baths were installed, and the gymnasium apparatus was so arranged that the room could be used for other purposes when needed. In Ward 7 the gymnasium was established originally by the College Settlements Association, as part of the work of Denison House; this gymnasium is now under lease to the city for a term of ten years.

As to the future growth of the indoor gymnasium system throughout the city the Bath Trustees strongly urge the importance of constructing large gymsnasiums, designed to meet the needs of an entire district rather than small ones for each ward. The small gymsnasiums which are now being maintained were provided through arrangements and appropriations to which the trustees were given no satisfactory alternative.

A gymnasium should have a large floor space, about 125 by 60 feet, generous air space, and large enough dimensions for a running track. And it is better not to have a city gymnasium too closely identified with a single neighborhood, but to make it, in some sense, a public center, to which people will come from many different streets. The fact, too, that it costs practically as much for the wages of attendants and instructors in a small gymnasium as in a large one is another important consideration. Besides, the large gymnasium affords ample room and opportunity for hand ball, basket ball, and other competitive games and sports. It is the hope of the Bath Trustees that within the next few years the public facilities for physical recreation and training may be extended so that every closely populated district of the city will have adequate gymnasium accommodations. During the past year a gymnasium with baths and a swimming pool in the new municipal building in Ward 16 was completed, and will be opened within a few weeks. The coming season a new gymnasium and bath, including a large swimming tank, costing \$100,000, in Ward 18 will be completed and opened to the public. And the city government has voted an appropriation of \$90,000 for a gymnasium and bath at the North End.

The municipal gymsnasiums are kept open all the year. Eight months in the year, from the first of October to the first of June, a thoroughly trained and experienced instructor is on duty in each gymnasium. He conducts the class work, gives individual instruction when it is needed, and directs the games and sports of the children. Separate classes are conducted for the men, boys, working women, married women, and girls; and two days in every week, Tuesdays and Thursdays, the gymsnasiums and baths are for the exclusive use of the women and girls. The school girl's classes are in the afternoon, and the women's in the evening; and on Thursday forenoon there is a married women's class which has a large and enthusiastic attendance.



A BOSTON PUBLIC GYMNASIUM

On the women's days a matron is in attendance; and each person has her individual bath-room, the baths being made separate by the use of rubber curtains.

All the work in the gymnasiums is under the general charge of a physical director; and a uniform system of class work is used, a system which includes and combines the best forms of physical exercise and gymnastics. Painstaking care is taken to provide a system which will meet satisfactorily the needs of both sexes and all ages. And convincing evidence of its success in meeting these general needs is the fact that the classes tax the capacity of the gymnasium buildings. The class work is made an important feature. It consists of drills in free movement, and with dumb-bells, swords, Indian-clubs, and light apparatus; and the principle of change and progression is carefully observed in these drills, thus insuring advancement and the absence of monotony. Particular attention is given to the children's classes. The exercises are simple and elementary, and take up but a small part of the time. For the children the gymnasiums are made to serve more as a playground than as a gymnastic school, a place where they can indulge their own natural impulses for childish sport; and they are constrained by discipline which is wholesome, but never excessive. The recreative feature of the class work is augmented by a piano accompaniment. Special and individual corrective exercise and training is given for such physical defects as hollow chests, depressed shoulders, spinal curvatures, and asymmetrical development. The attendance at the municipal gymnasiums the past year was 7,000 a week. This includes men, women and children; and they all came, voluntarily, for healthful recreation, and with some purpose to attain hygienic righteousness. From the first of June to the first of October most of those who visit the gymnasiums come for the sake of bathing; but the gymnasium privileges are available if desired.

A corps of medical examiners, in

charge of a medical director, is provided, to give those who avail themselves of the gymnasium privileges the opportunity of a thorough physical examination, and advice as to the kind and amount of exercise and training most needed; and, also, to prevent any harm from the misuse, through ignorance or excessive zeal, of the apparatus. Two physicians, a man and a woman, are assigned to each gymnasium as medical examiners; and at stated times, twice each week, during the indoor gymnasium season the examiner is in attendance at the gymnasium office to examine and advise the members. The medical examiner's office in each gymnasium is equipped with the apparatus necessary for making a complete and thorough physical and anthropometrical examination; and the measurements, strength tests, and condition of each person examined is accurately recorded. These records are made upon cards which are arranged alphabetically and kept by the medical director for reference and data. To encourage the gymnasium members to meet the medical examiners a prescription card is made over and given to each person at the time of the examination. The card bears a record of the member's measurements and physical condition—a copy of the record is kept by the examiner; useful suggestions and advice as to bathing, exercise, and good care of the body; and instruction as to the character and amount of exercise best suited to that particular individual. There is gratifying evidence of the general public benefit which comes from the free municipal indoor gymnasiums in Boston. In a recent report of the Institutions Registration Department it is stated that during the past ten years there has been a decrease of from 12 to 20 per cent in the number of juvenile arrests. And the report ascribes this improvement as due, in a considerable degree, to the manifold efforts which are being made throughout the city to turn youthful energy and spirit into healthful and wholesome channels. Truly the public gymnasiums are a material help in that direc-

tion. From careful observers in the districts where the gymnasiums and baths are located come striking testimony as to a higher standard of physical alertness and cleanliness which is easily apparent among a large proportion of the children and young people. And this gospel of physical well-being and cleanliness is spreading; women of mature years and having home responsibilities are beginning to take the time to come to the gymnasiums. In East Boston a class of these women numbering 115 members has been formed.

nasium began to provide this training, the physical poor standard for appointments in the eligible list of these two arms of the city's service has been advanced more than fifteen per cent.

The success of this undertaking has led to the introduction of gymnasiums and baths in some of the public school buildings recently erected; and during the past winter the public gymnasium privileges of the city poor have increased considerably by the opening of the school gymnasiums in the evenings, in connection with the evening schools



Saturday Morning at the Dover Street Bath House

Another worthy benefit of these gymnasiums and an interesting aspect of their educational work is that they assist in training young men who are ambitious to enter the city's service as policemen and firemen. The Massachusetts Civil Service Convention requires of candidates for the municipal police and fire departments a physical and a mental examination; and in the public gymnasiums an opportunity is given the young men to train themselves to meet the requirements of the physical test. Since the municipal gym-

nasiums began to provide this training, the physical poor standard for appointments in the eligible list of these two arms of the city's service has been advanced more than fifteen per cent.

The municipal gymnasiums are merely public institutions. They promote the physical health and the moral and mental vigor of a large number of people. By increasing the total production capacity of the people of the city they are a good investment—an investment which each year will bring to the city increasing financial returns. And into the lives of many they help to bring a little more usefulness, happiness, and content.

More Light in Dark Places

By Henry Raymond Mussey

In the July number of THE COMMONS the story was told of the manner in which the telephone and lighting monopolies of New York, by virtue of their control of the electrical subways, are able to dictate the rates and conditions of service for these two important public utilities in that city. A few further facts may not be without interest. For these facts, so far as they relate to the subways, I am again indebted to the *Evening Post*.

The charter of the Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical Subway company and that of the Empire City Subway Company provide that all net earnings above ten per cent on the capital must be paid to the city. The subway companies are required each year by the terms of their franchise to submit reports to the city comptroller showing what their actual cash capital, the cost of constructing, equipping, maintaining and operating the conduits, and the annual net profits. In case the companies fail to carry out these and all other provisions of their franchise, then it is provided that the city may enter into possession of the subways, subject to any valid outstanding mortgages or liens not exceeding fifty per cent of the actual cost of the subways; and all leases or contracts then existing forfeit their interest and the subway companies must "quietly and peaceably surrender possession of the subways to the city."

The city has never received one cent under the ten per cent provision. As the privileges of the companies are known to be immensely valuable, the reader may judge how well that provision has been carried out. As to reports, the companies have made them each year, ostensibly conforming to the legal requirements. How far they do so conform we will now try to judge.

Along with the other good things for which the city has to thank the Low administration was an investigation of the affairs of the subway companies. As

a result of such investigation, suit was begun against them, the city in its complaint alleging that the annual reports were "false, fraudulent, untrue, and made in bad faith." These reports have invariably shown a far lower percentage of earnings on costs of construction than ten per cent, and the city alleged that in so far as they purported to set forth the annual net profits after the necessary expense of constructing, equipping, maintaining and operating the conduits, they were fraudulent. It claimed that a large amount of money was due the city, believed to reach several million dollars. It therefore demanded a judicial accounting of the gross and net earnings of the companies; of their rentals and charges; of the facts of all payments of every kind, in order that it might be determined whether these amounts stated by the companies were properly charged to construction and maintenance. To this complaint the Empire City Subway Company interposed a demurrer, and, in the Supreme Court on the 20th of June last, Justice Scott on technical grounds sustained the demurrer. Thus the city is again defeated in its efforts to free itself from the grip of this monopoly, and though the attorney who prepared the original complaint says it is entirely possible for the city to proceed under an amended bill, yet to an outsider the relations between the present administration and the lighting monopoly appear to be such as to render further action doubtful until New York has another spasm of reform and again gives Tammany a vacation.

As to the merits of the present controversy, one may judge somewhat from the sworn testimony of William J. Sefton, secretary of the Consolidated Subway Company, before the Mazet commission in 1899: "We have now about 800 miles of single duct subway. About sixty-seven per cent is unoccupied (when the Peoples' Telephone Corporation wanted room for its wires

the ducts were full). The average cost per mile is between \$6,000 and \$7,000. This is the average cost of the whole construction, not of each duct. Our average rental for a duct is " \$900 a year." The Bank of New Amsterdam paid \$220 a year rent for two wires in the subway for a distance of ten blocks. Of course no man of common sense believes that with rates such as these profits have been less than ten per cent on the actual capital invested, yet these honorable gentlemen come into court and with solemn faces try to make us believe that such is the case. On being assured that we know they are not telling the truth, they brighten up, and like their eminent predecessor in public plunder, the lamented Boss Tweed, inquire, "What are you going to do about it?"

The amazing effrontery of the corporations that hold New York bound and gagged can be realized, however, only when one remembers that the Empire City Subway Company is but a branch of the Consolidated Gas Company and then recalls the recent action of that great monopoly. The Remsen East River Gas Bill, it will be remembered, was pushed through the legislature at its last session, which enjoys the distinction of being the worst session a New York legislature ever held, an orgy of corruption. The lure held out to induce the mayor to sign this tainted measure was the removal of all the gas plants from Manhattan to Astoria—and the mayor signed the bill, but the governor vetoed it. And now comes the amusing feature of the situation. The *Times* of August 2nd contains the announcement that the Consolidated Gas Company will move its plants to Astoria whether or no. Why? Some envious persons have suggested that taxes are so much lower on Long Island that the gas combine will save money by the move, inasmuch as it pays taxes on \$50,000,000 worth of property in Manhattan. Evidently the mayor forgot this fact in his anxiety to have the scenery of Manhattan improved by the removal of the gas plants.

In order to effect this removal, the Consolidated will construct a new tunnel under the East river, and through one of its auxiliaries, the East River Gas Company, it has obtained the appointment of a commission to condemn city and state property for that purpose. On August 1st Justice McCall in the Supreme Court handed down the names of three prominent Tammany men as commissioners, Senator Thomas F. Grady, Peter J. Dooling and Thomas Byrnes. According to the newspaper account, this was done "without comment" by the Justice. It is difficult for an onlooker to refrain from comment. The proposed tunnel may be as the gas company's attorneys argued, a public necessity, but what shall be said as to the policy of turning over the control of such a great public utility to a band of brigands like the Consolidated Gas Company, who have demonstrated their ability and their willingness for just one thing, systematic and organized plunder of the city and its people?

And now the point of the Remsen Bill becomes plain. The charter of the East River Gas Company has but seventeen years to run; the Remsen Bill, if the writer is correctly informed, would have made this charter perpetual. Small wonder the Consolidated wanted the bill passed before it began building its tunnel, but what shall be said of the action of the mayor who signed the bill, or of those reputable lawyers who advised him to do so? This is a dark place, indeed, and more light is badly needed.

The story of the Consolidated Gas Company and its constituent corporations is one continuing tale of unblushing extortion, of poor service, of legislative corruption, of executive inefficiency, of confusion worse confounded in the relations between a great municipality and one of its supposed creatures, a corporation not only soulless but conscienceless, a corporation that boldly says, "We will rob you of your money, we will throw dust in the eyes of your elected officers, we will purchase legislators, we will

despise your laws." As one listens he is almost tempted to ask with the ancient prophet, "Lord, how long?" And as he hears the story he is almost tempted to believe the reply will be the same, "Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate."

The House by the Side of the Road

By Sam Walter Foss

EDITOR'S NOTE: This poem was republished in **THE COMMONS** for August, 1897, after its first printing in **THE INDEPENDENT**. During the past few months we have received so many requests for the back number of **THE COMMONS** containing it, that we are sure our present subscribers and friends, both those who will remember it and those to whom it comes as new, will be glad to greet its second appearance in **THE COMMONS**.

"He was a friend to man and he lived in a house by the side of the road."—*Homer*.

There are hermit souls that live withdrawn
In the place of their self content;
There are souls, like stars, that dwell apart,
In a fellowless firmament;
There are pioneer souls that blaze their paths
Where highways never ran—
But let me live by the side of the road
And be a friend to man.

Let me live in a house by the side of the road,
Where the race of men go by—
The men who are good and the men who are bad,
As good and as bad as I.
I would not sit in the scorner's seat,
Or hurl the cynic's ban—
Let me live in a house by the side of the road
And be a friend to man.

I see from my house by the side of the road
By the side of the highway of life,
The men who press with the ardor of hope,
The men who are faint with the strife.
But I turn not away from their smiles nor their tears—
Both parts of an infinite plan—
Let me live in my house by the side of the road
And be a friend to man.

I know there are brook-gladdened meadows ahead
And mountains of wearisome height;
That the road passes on through the long afternoon
And stretches away to the night.
But still I rejoice when the travelers rejoice,
And weep with the strangers that moan,
Nor live in my house by the side of the road
Like a man who dwells alone.

Let me live in my house by the side of the road
Where the race of men go by—
They are good, they are bad, they are weak, they are strong,
Wise, foolish—so am I.
Then why should I sit in the scorner's seat
Or hurl the cynic's ban?
Let me live in my house by the side of the road
And be a friend to man.

Wanted: One More Standing Committee

By Florence Kelley

In days when everyone is distraught by the demands of organizations and committees it requires courage to suggest the formation of still another Large Standing Committee. The need is, however, urgent for one more large and efficient standing committee of effective persons, both men and women, on the Children Who Fail of Promotion in the Public Schools.

The very large numbers of such children were brought to light in the City of New York, last year when the new child labor law and compulsory education law took effect which require that every child under the age of sixteen years must, before going to work, complete a stipulated amount of the work of the curriculum of the public schools. This required work would normally be accomplished by the twelfth birthday in the case of a child who entered school at the age of six years and was duly promoted without failures. The facts are, however, that thousands of children fail of so many promotions that when they reach the legal age for beginning to work—the fourteenth birthday—they have not nearly completed the school work which they are supposed to have done at the age of twelve and are required to do before they can legally leave school.

One division superintendent of the schools of New York had a canvass made of all the school children under her care—in the lower east side—and found that several thousand children were in this predicament who had been born in New York, or brought thither so young as to have entered school at the age of six years. Since they appeared to be exactly the poorest children, whose parents most needed their help at the earliest possible moment, this was a very serious matter.

Why do thousands of children fail of promotion? The final answer to this question can be ascertained only by the Standing Committee here proposed.

Meanwhile there are certain obvious partial answers, namely:

1. Children who attend school only half a day are at a disadvantage and are tempted to truancy.
2. Children in classes of fifty or more cannot receive sufficient attention from the teacher to get them forward 'with normal speed.'

3. Unruly children who are suspended or expelled, waste time unless they are immediately committed to a school whose curriculum is the same as that of the public schools.

4. For want of adequate hospital accommodations for the care of contagious disease, scarlet fever, measles, and other diseases of childhood, are permitted to be nursed in the tenements, and well children in nominal quarantine lose weeks and months in playing in the streets and homes, and fail of promotion through no fault of their own.

All these are causes removable and under the control of the municipal administration which can, however, be greatly aided in so doing by a standing committee of influential citizens.

There are also other causes not directly within the control of the city.

1. Some of the children smoke cigarettes and are stupefied by them. (Judge Stubbs of the Juvenile Court of Indianapolis considers this the most ruinous influence to which boys of school age are subjected).

2. Other children have poor eyes or ears; thousands of children are so ill-fed that they cannot learn (not always because too little money is spent for food, but because pickles, candy, bananas, and beer, tea and coffee are no suitable food for school children).

Adenoids and congenital dullness or slowness, the result of diseases of childhood, call for some special care or even an altogether different disposition of the child, perhaps in a special school or an institution.

All these cases call for prolonged care and oversight beyond what can be given either by the school physician who visits the school, examines and excludes the children; or by the nurse who attends to many minor afflictions but cannot always induce mothers to take children regularly to the oculist, the aurist, the surgeon, or the orthopedist. It is in co-operating with the school-physicians, school-nurses and the dispensaries that the members of the proposed standing committee would find, perhaps, their most fruitful field of strictly personal work with individuals and families, analogous to that of the Charity Organization Society's friendly visitor. Included in this branch of their work would be the task of finding a substitute for the school-children when there is illness (non-contagious) in the family, and they are now kept at home to make pitiful attempts at nursing.

Aside from the derelictions of Boards of Education, and physical disqualifications of the children themselves, there are still other causes of their failure to make promotions duly. Among these are the work of taking care of younger children while the mother works (the father being ill, or dead, or deserted, or out of work); fetching and carrying for sweatshops; and finally that fatigue which dulls the faculties of children wearied by delivering bread and rolls for bakers, baskets for grocers, and papers in the early morning before school; and by crying papers to all hours of the night on the streets.

The sum-total is an army of children belated in their school work, many of whom fall out of school and become truants out of discouragement; and from truancy the step is a short one to the juvenile court and the institutions; or to the factory in defiance of the compulsory education law and the child labor law.

The proposed committee would, of course, not supersede any existing child saving or child helping institution; it would complement them all and co-operate with them. It would be the nat-

ural ally of the teachers and attendance agents.

It is doubtless as true in other cities as it has been shown to be true in New York that thousands of children not only do not complete the work of eight years in the space of eight years, but do *not even complete the work of five years in the space of eight years.* This waste of time in the lives of the children, to say nothing of the waste of teaching, seating accommodations and general cost to the school-system, should make the help of the proposed committee most welcome to the Boards of Education.

Wherever the compulsory attendance law requires that the children remain at school until they reach the fourteenth birthday, the ordinary citizen naturally assumes that the children are moving steadily forward from class to class, getting the benefit of the schools. So far from being universally true is this cheerful assumption, that only two states, so far as the writer has been able to learn, stipulate any amount of school work as required before a child may go out of school to enter upon the life of wage-earning. These two states are Colorado and New York. Colorado requires children to attend school until the sixteenth birthday *unless the county judge and the superintendent of schools unite in excepting a child who has finished the work of eight years of the school curriculum.* Such a child is, however, kept on the records of the schools until the sixteenth birthday, and his place of employment and all the conditions attending it are of record.

In New York, a child before beginning to work, must both reach the fourteenth birthday and finish the work of five years of the school curriculum receiving instruction in "reading, writing, geography, English grammar, and the fundamental operations of arithmetic, up to and including fractions."

The proposed committee would take up a child when it first failed of a promotion, and was entering upon the process of losing its best opportunity for education by sitting, year after year, in the same grade, or falling out of school

in discouragement, and would make such a child the object of its especial friendly solicitude until the reason for the failure was removed if this proved possible. There is little doubt that many children would thus be saved later acquaintance with the juvenile court and the probation officers.

It is the conviction of the writer that the work of the proposed committee would prove a most interesting as well as a most useful task. There can be little doubt that many of the causes of failure of the children would melt away in the presence of an intelligent and persistent committee, devoting continuous attention to each belated child. Where, however, the causes of failure proved permanent or recurring (such as insufficient nutrition whether due to the lack of skill or care on the part of the mother, or to poverty arising from the death, absence, disability, desertion or insufficient wage of the father) the mere bringing to light of the facts would be of the highest social value.

Nothing so promotes the effective enforcement of factory laws, child labor laws, and compulsory education laws, as the *organized* good will and co-operation of the community. And if an effective committee persistently inquired after each child that failed of promotion, how long could a Board of Education fail to supply adequate school-rooms, competent teachers and *enough of them?*

It may be objected that there are not enough friendly visitors available for the work that is already undertaken; that judicious personal work is a difficult thing to secure. But however loath people may be to undertake work with grown folks, there is a much more widespread willingness to do things for children and with them—even arduous and difficult things.

Nothing has been said of the difficulties caused by sordid parents who wish to exploit their children. But Judge Lindsey of the Denver court, by his enforcement of the unique statute of Colorado which holds a parent responsible for the delinquency of the child, has blazed the way for dealing with offenders of this character; and they may be found after all to be few and insignificant in comparison with the social influences which now cause the failures of the children.

Under the stress of competition to which children are submitted immediately upon leaving school, the completion of five years work as arranged in the curriculum is the very least equipment with which any American child can be sent into the industrial world without incurring danger of speedily forgetting the slender share of learning that he has acquired. To expedite their school work is to strengthen in a most practical manner a multitude of deserving but not fortunate children.

Conciliation Winning Its Way

By Graham Romeyn Taylor

Belligerency has ever inflicted its strident bluster upon a long suffering vast majority of folk who are content with peace so long as it is compatible with honor and a maintenance of their rock-bottomed principles. So simple are the most of us that we actually enjoy the happiness of friendly feeling

and neighborly relationships more than the glory of martial exploits. We have borne with fortitude the ear-splitting clamor of our strenuous brethren whose scent of the conflict is so keen that they needs must indulge in vocal rehearsings of its din. And we have received with meekness the disdainful contempt of

the imperious for the "weak," though it has not infrequently afforded the "weak" an amusement dangerously destructive to the haughty dignity of the imperious.

PEOPLE WEARY OF BLUSTER.

Turn to whatever field we will, the same hullabaloo and commotion by the really insignificant handful of warlike spirits oppresses us. The jingo in national affairs is having a continual coniption fit over some "insufferable outrage," and we never have time to acquaint ourselves with the real trouble at issue before there is another distressing attack of his blatant hysterics over a fresh discovery of some "terrible menace" to our very existence as a nation. In an extraordinary manner this is disposed of or becomes quiescent before the tornado-like onrush of an "omnious war cloud" from some other quarter, very probably a brave young army or navy officer's inventive genius subsidized by an enterprising newspaper publisher. We have subdued our hair so many times that now we exhibit a disquieting and unpatriotic indifference whenever we are excitedly commanded to stand it on end again. But it has taught us at least the significant fact that the most of us are content with the even tenor of the peaceful way.

Or, observe the same thing in the smaller realm of intercollegiate sport. The undergraduates of one university are worked up to fever heat by the "atrocious unfairness and unsportsman-like conduct" of the rival team or athletic management at a sister university. We hear that "athletic relations are broken off" and no games are to be played between the two. Each crowd of undergraduates sulks and stewes in its own continually exaggerated feeling of how it has been "ungentlemanly treated by the other side" until—what happens? Suddenly those in each crowd find that the other set of fellows is composed of college men not essentially different from themselves. Neither side is really happy in the quarrel and the two become aware that both are being robbed of an important and interesting annual

contest. One gives some slight evidence of repentance, the other admits that it judged too harshly, and we are gravely informed that "athletic relations between such and such universities have been resumed." The majority of the undergraduates have at heart been sorry the squabble ever took place; a lesson has been learned—the chances are that it will not be repeated; and the public indulges a little chuckle at the silliness of it all, which is disconcerting to no one but the dignified editors of the rival college newspapers who have spent some of their most valuable time in excogitating new anathemas and choice sarcasms for the edification of their opponents.

The religious world is perennially called upon to endure an avalanche of ponderous arguments and weighty words from those vociferous defenders of the faith whose theology is nothing if not polemic and whose Christian brotherliness does not extend to a world of warring sects. But it does not take long for the mass of believers to move up and on, if not to a basis of agreement, to enough of a kindly feeling for a hearty co-operation in methods and work—Christian social service draws not the line of creed—leaving the disputants far behind in the blinding dust of their own arena. A weariness of strife and a spirit of harmony underneath all permeates even the mass of Christians.

Politics, the law, medicine, education, none is exempt from its own coterie of controversialists whose cantankerous bickering over the trivial things annoy their brethren if not themselves. Yet occasionally our eyes are permitted to behold a genuine "political love feast"; among lawyers we are glad to discover a constantly increasing number who care more to settle fights than make them; the doctors we find united when human suffering is at stake; and, although a year ago we witnessed in New York State as acrimonious a controversy among educators as we have seen in any set of men, we are inspired by the self-sacrificing loyalty to lofty ideals, the common fidelity to the main

purpose and fellowship in working it out, that pervades the great army of the nation's teachers.

INDUSTRIAL BELLIGERENTS.

Agreed it must be, however, that the field of industrial relations furnishes the most intolerable belligerency of all. The shriekings of the jingo rarely disturb us beyond the outlandish newspaper headings which all of us have learned to discount; and the other blusterers are practically harmless but for their noise. But in the industrial struggle with its desperate crises coming one almost on the heels of another all the time, those bellowing forth the war-cry on both sides are more likely to influence action and make the lines increasingly taut, to the very real inconvenience of the non-combatants and their consequent exasperation. The "smash the unions" employers' associations it is needless to dwell upon; our ear-drums ache with their eternal racket and the boastings of their shouting secretaries. In all the propaganda of radical social theories there is no literature more rampant, and divisive and incendiary, none more bent upon arraying class against class, than the official organ of the "Parryites" with its bitter, mean interpretations and misrepresentations of trade unionists' acts and utterances, and its continual harping on the worst it can find or bring itself to believe of their faults and blunders. Scarcely more endurable is the bragging unionist who is always proclaiming the omnipotence of his organization and who hardly opens his mouth without frothing a threat of how he is going to make some manufacturers accede to his demands or "drive them out of business." The general public is as out of patience with his stubbornness as it is with the insufferable conceit of the would-be dictators among the employers.

But we believe implicitly that this arrogant and loud mouthed set of blatherskites constitutes but a bare handful on either side. We are more and more convinced of the fairmindedness and desire at heart for peace of the

large majority of employers and the general run of trade unionists. They are not so self-assertive but their influence is none the less felt. Upon the trade union side, however, it must be said that this larger number of peaceably inclined has means, increasingly extensive, for curbing the penchant of the few for strife. The referendum is being used well nigh universally to decide such matters as the calling of strikes.

The cause of international peace is certainly strengthened by more or less selfishness in the carrying out of huge commercial projects. No doubt industrial peace is similarly bolstered up by a vivid realization of the enormous cost of industrial war to both sides. And the public is flattering itself to believe that its frequently expressed wrath at needlessly provoked and prolonged labor troubles is instilling a wholesome fear in the warring camps.

CONCILIATION TO THE FORE.

Very recently we have been favored with conspicuous advances in the progress of conciliation as a way of settlement for industrial disputes. There has been played the same game of bluff; both sides have felt compelled to "put up a front," make a respectable show of strength, and impress bystanders and awe opponents with magnificent exhibitions of muscle available for backing up claims and enforcing rock ribbed ultimatums. But the enjoyment of the glorious conflict either actual or anticipated has not been so keen as the belligerent generalissimos on each side have tried to make their followers believe. In cases where the fighting point has not been reached there has been a noticeable trembling and quaking the nearer its approach; and the real warfare has justified such timorous feelings. The best of the union leaders, however, have striven earnestly and sincerely for peace at all times, and have received the hearty support of the vast majority of the rank and file. Later if not sooner, too, the employers have evidenced fairmindedness, reasonableness, and recognition of others' rights.

IN NEW YORK'S RAPID TRANSIT.

Perhaps the most notable recent instance of the triumph of the conciliatory spirit is to be seen in the settlement of differences between the elevated railroad employers and employees in New York City. The controversy arose over the wages to be paid motormen in the subway and the length of the working day. The agreement reached provides that \$3.50 shall be paid an experienced man for a day's work, this being determined after substantial concessions by the company, and that the working day shall be ten hours, the men having receded from their firm stand for a nine-hour day. It will be remembered that when the motive power was changed on the elevated roads from steam locomotives to electricity the engineers, who were and are members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, refused to listen to the proposal to reduce their wages below the standard maintained by the Brotherhood. In the course of changing some men from elevated to subway service, it apparently was thought by the company that a convenient time had arrived in which to reduce the high wages obtaining. The strength of the union has been able to prevail again, however, as it did before. Other features of the agreement are that preference shall be given to elevated engineers, to the extent of half their number, when the company engages subway employees; that they shall have some preference in the selection of runs; and that the agreement shall be for three years.

The discussion preceding the satisfactory settlement of the difficulty has on the whole been animated by reasonableness and a sincere desire for peace. The men on neither side have taken an "unalterable position" from which they would consider it an impossible disgrace to "back down." It has been seen that an arbitrary stand by either, an absolute refusal by the union to consider anything short of their entire demand, or a haughty declaration on the employers' part that "we shall

let no one dictate to us concerning the management of our business," is the height of absurdity as compared with the conciliatory method of reaching and maintaining industrial peace. Too often both sides, when adopting the stubborn frame of mind are actuated by a feeling that "we have the other fellow in a hole" and we mean to "force the issue." They are too conscious of their power. The foolishness of this arbitrary sort of attitude is that in the mere act of assuming it there slips away from either side which thus displays its arrogance, the very thing which time after time has been the deciding factor in a labor difficulty—public sympathy and support.

BETTER THAN FIGHTING IT OUT.

Bitter lessons have been necessary to impress this upon both sides. But when learned with sufficient thoroughness to abide in the memory of both sides and control their spirit and actions the next time hostilities seem imminent, not only is the public immensely the gainer but also in extraordinary measure the two parties concerned. Else, how are we to consider the calculations of enormous losses tabulated by the daily press in terms of forfeited wages and unearned profits every time a strike of magnitude occurs? Think a moment upon the New York situation. Suppose the trouble had been hurried by wild and high-handed recklessness on both sides or either into a prolonged strike. The loss of profits would have amounted to more than many years' payment of the difference between the higher and the lower wage; the shorter work day would have been a paltry compensation for the immense sum of abandoned wages; both sides would have had all the worry of keeping their forces in line, their tempers from lawlessness and their causes popular with the public. And what of the last named portion of the community? It would have had to put up with all the patience trying inconveniences of interrupted traffic, perhaps with no small degree of danger from unskilled and inexperienced labor in exceedingly re-

sponsible positions. Friction between the two disputants would have been further confused and intensified by popular indignation rightly and wrongly expressed and brought to bear.

In place of all this what do we have as the fruits of this victory for peace. The public is not made, for the thousandth time, the bearer of a cost which it did not contract and against which it could have protested in vain. It has the satisfaction of knowing that there has been some regard in this case for its rights. And it can ride with a feeling of security that its life has been entrusted to a cool headed, sensible and thoroughly competent man, who is not only ready in an emergency to fill the breach with the courage that any true man would display and with a skill and judgment born of long experience and careful training, but one whose foresight will be used to the utmost to prevent that emergency from arising. And it can feel that in return for this careful and conscientious service the intelligent engineer is receiving a proportionately generous remuneration as wages go. Employers and employees alike, not only in the present crisis but for a period of three years, are relieved of the stress and strain of a possible desperate struggle. The pecuniary losses are saved to both. And we are believers enough in the elemental good in men to be persuaded that both sides must have a feeling of happiness that instead of adding to the flame of strife and hate, already sufficiently alarming in the industrial relationship, they have contributed materially to the general fund of brotherliness.

IN THE ANTHRACITE REGION.

The same good sense, reasonableness and desire for fair play to themselves, the other side and the public has characterized the situation in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania. The operators have at times seemed to forget that their "divine right" was vetoed by the People, but their memorable lesson has come back to them in good season. They have chafed under some of the detailed provisions of the agreement but

the actual appeal to force has been avoided. The unions kept their temper well when the operators tried to go back of the findings of Umpire Wright favorable to the unions in the checkweighman issue. Their acquiescence in submitting the question to another decision was a notable example of generous good will which some of them might with considerable excuse have been tempted to think a weak-kneed subservience to gross imposition. It bespeaks much for the confidence of both sides in the wisdom and fairness of Judge Gray. The United Mine Workers' Journal expresses this editorially and adds:

"We believe that the petty bickerings and turmoil which the operators have kept up for over a year will cease. They ought to cease. There ought to be the utmost harmony and cordial business relations between the anthracite mine worker and operator. There will be if the operator desires it and he will not have to surrender one iota of his control over the mines to secure it. Let him act upon the theory that the mine worker is a party of the second part in a mutual contract and live up to the provisions of that contract and a long term of years free from industrial strife will ensue."

And a week later it was entirely justified in saying:

"The skill with which the mine workers' officials in the anthracite region have handled the case has, we believe, removed all danger of a suspension. The anthracite operators ought to be convinced by this time that the United Mine Workers is not a 'striking machine.' Consider the ample provocation for strikes the men have had during the past fifteen months and consider how conservatively they have acted. Surely men who could contain themselves under such conditions can be depended upon to act honorably at all times with their employers and can be trusted in business transactions.... There is no reason why the past with all its folly and strife should not be forgotten and an era of peace and good will take its place. There is no reason why the anthracite region should be the scene of turmoil."

And not content with this it adds its expression of confidence that the operators will cordially meet them half way in support of a policy which will bring business advantage and better morals to all concerned. The rabid "smash the union" employers' and manufacturers' associations would do well to reflect upon and take to heart some of the fair-

mindedness of the miners, their freedom from bitterness, and their friendly efforts for peace.

WITH THE IRON AND STEEL WORKERS.

No less significant is the success and good feeling all around in the case of the arbitration of a proposed reduction in wages paid by the Republic Iron and Steel Company to its 20,000 skilled union employes at Ashtabula, Ohio, and elsewhere from Newcastle, Pennsylvania, to Birmingham, Alabama. The 1904 contract has contained provision for a sliding scale of wages with a stipulated base. Owing to an alleged reduction in business and large expenditures on new plants, the company claimed it was not justified in continuing the scale in force. They therefore sought to reduce the base wage scales from five to fifteen per cent., according as the labor is unskilled or skilled. As provided in the working agreement which has been in force since 1901, conference committees from the company and the unions having failed to agree on an adjustment of wages, the matter was left to a board of conciliation. This met in Chicago in September and was composed of a representative of the company, a representative of the unions and a third agreed upon by these two. Against the claims of the company, the men contended that the number of employes had been reduced in several plants, thus comparatively lightening expenses. Reductions of the base wage in certain trades was conceded by the workers provided the sliding scale was maintained. The company agreed to this latter provision. The award of the conciliation board on the amount of the reductions was more favorable to the employers than to the workers but the reductions ordered are not quite so severe as was first desired by the company. The wage cut for the most unskilled classes of labor will amount to about two per cent., while in the case of the most skilled, it will result in the payment of but \$7.15 per ton to the "finishers" in place of the \$8.50 they have been receiving, a cut of about thirteen per cent.

BOTH SIDES SATISFIED.

Both parties to the settlement are satisfied and both regard it as a great improvement over fighting it out on the old lines of force. James H. Nutt, head of the labor department of the Republic Company declared, "It is a great step in advance in the settling of disputes between capital and labor. I prophesy that it always will be employed by our company and our workmen to adjust wage questions." And the good grace of the employes in accepting the adverse award is shown in the statement of Secretary John Williams of the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers: "The meeting just ended has been a great success. It worked to the satisfaction of both sides, and while we are sorry to have received an adverse award, we believe that the plan is the only sensible way of avoiding strikes and shut-downs in great industries." This is the spirit we would commend to the attention of those who have "nothing to arbitrate." Its practical results form a most instructive object lesson to those who will "run their own businesses" if they have to go into bankruptcy with strikes and lock-outs, and who refuse with surliness to make a plain statement of the reasons for wage reductions and other affairs of shop management to their "unthinking workingmen who are devoid of ability to comprehend business affairs and unreasonable enough to be utterly heedless of economic law."

To give credit to those who blaze the way, however, it should be recalled that for years the bituminous miners and operators at their annual Indianapolis convention have regularly arrived at a satisfactory agreement to the practical abolition of strikes and other labor difficulties. And for eighteen years the Boston brick layers and masons and the master builders' association have been absolutely free from friction thanks to an annual meeting to adjust any differences and sign contracts for the ensuing year. In that length of time the umpire provided by their agreements in case a dispute cannot be settled by con-

ference has only been called upon three times. New York might well give heed to the ways of Boston.

AT THE CLOSE OF THE STOCK YARDS STRIKE.

And lastly, come to the lesson of conciliation to be learned from Chicago's great packing trade struggle. Here was tried out to its last extreme of bitterness the policy of defiance. Here was shown the last degree of stubbornness. And here was played to its thinnest disguise of pretense the game of bluff. The story of the beginning and most of the history of the struggle is familiar to the readers of *THE COMMONS* through the intensely absorbing and authoritative accounts in the September number by those who were in positions to know the whole story. The merits of the opposing contentions were there made clear, so far as broad justice is concerned and petty acts and utterances ignored, to any one whose mind was open. We are sure where our sympathies lay and feel that they were not misplaced. For the present purpose, then, we shall not discuss those merits. We do believe, however, that in the negotiations preceding the strike Michael Donnelly made every effort for peace consistent with the generous motives of the butcher workmen, which lay far deeper than a mere insistence upon a matter of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per hour, which meant the altruistic determination of the skilled workmen to stand by their more defenceless unskilled brethren. But regardless of all this, when once the strike was on in earnest both sides seemed to fling all thought of peace to the winds. The men indulged in boastings of their power to compel the packers to come to their terms; suspicion ill concealed and querulous was directed toward every move the packers made, and, as was pointed out in the editorial columns of *THE COMMONS*, precipitate haste waiting not to carry the matter of the apparent discrimination up from foreman to principals, sent the men out the second time to the destruction of the peace spirit of the pact.

The packers then took their turn at heaping additional obstacles in the way of conciliation and an almost puerile display of "never speak to you again" temper characterized their absolute declaration and they "never more would hold conferences with the butcher workmen." And all the time they knew in their innermost minds that despite their promise to retain in permanent employ the strike breakers, sooner or later, when the strike was ended, they would need the skilled help of those same butcher workmen. But the "front" had to be maintained and on and on they went ever making more and more ridiculous claims until the last ultimatum to have nothing to do with the men was met on the union side by the absurd declaration of a boycott on all meat in any form whatsoever.

CONCILIATION LATER IF NOT SOONER.

Then what happened? After resorting to every extreme on the fight basis short of deliberately planned violence—it is creditable to both sides and the city of Chicago that the stock yards strike was the most orderly of all recent large industrial struggles—back they came to conciliation. The force method was tried in its every form and found wanting. The sway of warfare and the strong arm, although it battered and bruised both sides into a tractable frame of mind, did not complete the final subjection of either one and failed to achieve the actual settlement. Offers of mediation were accepted, the "impossible" conference was arranged, and it turned out to be conciliation after all that drew the curtain over the hideous spectacle of fratricidal strife.

To some it may appear that a real spirit of conciliation was not present in such a one-sided settlement, so hopelessly lost was the union cause. On the contrary, its presence in these circumstances indicates the true magnitude of its triumph over the spirit of hate. It was easy enough for the conquering packers to exhibit a condescending charity. We shall, however, give them every credit for sincerity and fairmindedness in their expressed assurances given to the union leaders that

they are not hostile to the union; and we accept in good faith their announced intention to change the system of operating their plants so as to make more steady work for what men they do employ in their crews instead of intermittent work for a larger number.

But it was a high quality of manliness that in the face of stinging defeat could banish all thought of bitterness and enmity. "Our men have been chastened," Donnelly is reported to have said the very day after the strike ended, "and union labor will benefit from salutary lessons taught by the strike. It has been a losing fight for us, but I believe the final results will be for good. Our men have learned that they were not omnipotent; that they could be beaten. From now on they will be more conservative. There will be less of the spirit of dictation that has appeared, we all know too well, from time to time. The packers, too, I believe, are wiser than when the strike began. On both sides there is a feeling, I am sure, that the mistakes of the past are not to be repeated in the future." And he backs this up with the promise that in the management of the plants burdensome impositions formerly insisted upon by the unions will be removed and that continual complaint over trivial matters will cease. This is to be brought about by a reorganization of the unions which will replace the scores of "stewards" and business agents, who bothered the busy superintendents with every imaginable petty grievance, by a single representative of the executive board in each packing center who in a way will be responsible for the good conduct of the men and to whom the workers are to report all grievances. A permanent arbitration board to pass on all controversies that cannot be settled otherwise is favored by Mr. Donnelly. "We want to make the union," said he, "an organization that can do business with the packers to the benefit of both sides."

Why was not the conciliation which did credit to both sides at the framing of the first pact, and was so miserably rejected, and to which resource had to be made after all, not entirely possible at any time during the preliminary negotiations or at any turn in the long struggle? Why did they go on until no less than \$2,680,000 was lost in wages and a much vaster sum in profits, to say nothing of the constant violation of good sense and good fellowship? All the time there was no valid reason why a little more even of ordinary courtesy might not have brought peace and better feeling by the same method to which eventually both had to come.

How much longer must we make such costly sacrifices on the hellish altar of hate? Is it worth all this suffering and terrible trampling under foot of brotherliness and the spirit of peace just to "put up a front," to play in all its foolishness the "game of bluff" that would shame a schoolboy? Do we gain so much more of happiness by making a "show of strength" in a bitter conflict than we would in using that strength to guard securely and sacredly a friendship between men who ought to be friends? Do we prefer to look into the sullen face of anger rather than into the clear and sunny eye of comradeship? It passes belief. The spirit of love abides deep down in the heart of the common folk, and exists, however feebly, in the most stony of men. Else, how did the multitude these few weeks ago with wrenched hearts and eyes all moist follow to his grave a golden rule man. The aspiration of the race *must* be satisfied, its dream of brotherhood realized. How better, then, can the present age seek its longed-for contentment than by doing its share in the opportunities at hand to bring a few steps nearer the "morning of that glorious freedom day" when "Love will rule the wide world o'er."

Fair Points for Foreign Criticism

By Charles G. Price

EDITOR'S NOTE—For these appreciative criticisms of some phases of American life and labor, first given to his Edinburgh fellow citizens, we are indebted to Mr. Charles G. Price, who is setting a worthy example in retiring from business to devote himself to public affairs

Chicago, that terrible city which is supposed to contain samples of every evil under the sun, and which has been the subject of ridicule and contempt, also contains some of the finest and choicest spirits in America.

The second largest city in America, it is the most marvelous for growth and enterprise. Chicago is scarcely the kind of place anyone would wish to retire to, as there is not the slightest sense of repose about it; but if anyone is interested in business and political problems, there is no city in America, or perhaps in the world, where they can be studied to such advantage.

All nationalities flock to Chicago, and of the two millions of people living there it is estimated that not more than 350,000 are native-born Americans. In such a conglomeration of people, can you wonder at the excesses which sometimes take place (including "hold-ups," when men are robbed in the open street), which tax the energies of its rulers? But in spite of much in it which is to be condemned, I consider that of late years the best of its citizens have been straining every nerve to grapple with its problems.

Apart from its gigantic industries, I may mention, as an indication of the enterprise of the city, that the grade of the whole city was raised seven feet above its natural level, while its fairly large river (something like, if not larger than the Clyde at Glasgow) was made to run in the opposite direction from that which nature decreed it should. The port of Chicago, on Lake Michigan (an inland lake), has a larger tonnage of shipping than our own great seaport of Liverpool, while all the railways of America seem to converge there.

IN THE MAKING.

Of all cities in America it can best

be described as "a city in the making." It has the greatest mixture of fine features and bad qualities. It has some really magnificent streets, excellent parks and long boulevards connecting the latter with each other. In anticipation of its enormous possible growth, for miles and miles, right into the country, street after street has been laid out, with nothing but wooden plank pavements, slightly raised from the ground. This is a common description of all new towns in America, which, with the wooden houses erected in the suburbs, give a somewhat slipshod or temporary appearance. The municipal authorities are not free to pave these streets as quickly as ours, for they have to get the consent of the proprietors before they can proceed with paving. The result is that Chicago has the most badly paved streets in the world. Woe betide you if you wish to travel in any of the side streets in a conveyance. Chicago was the first city to adopt the enormous buildings known as skyscrapers, although, strange to say, the first building was designed by a London architect. In the center of the city, great strides have been made to give it the appearance of a solid, well-built city, not without some features of beauty.

POLITICAL ASSEMBLIES.

While there I was invited to attend a meeting of the city council—sitting among its members, and was introduced to the mayor and several councillors. Poles, Germans and other nationalities were represented in the council, which was not the most orderly assembly I have attended. Smoking is allowed during the sitting, and when one of the speakers was interrupted by another, the retort came, "Now, Uncle John, no interruption from you." Sometimes one of the councillors would address the mayor, who took not the

slightest notice of him, as he was paying attention to another councillor, who was addressing him at the same time.

The pile of buildings associated with the university is extraordinary, all built within the last ten or eleven years. The best men are secured as professors that money can tempt to its classrooms.

While in Chicago I had an opportunity of attending two political party conventions—one of the Democratic party and the other of the Republican. The latter was called to make a choice of candidates for the State Legislature. The Republican convention, to which I was taken by one of the local judges, contained a large element of colored voters—in fact, the chairman of the convention was a colored man and one or two of the speakers were of that race. As usual, I was asked to speak, when I declared I did not know which party I should join if I came to live in America, but that I should inquire which party represented "peace, retrenchment and reform," and with that party I should ally myself. Immediately I sat down I was told I was Republican.

Later on I attended the Democratic convention, when the subject of discussion was the right of the city and state treasurers to personally receive and benefit by the interest allowed upon all the money which they paid into, the bank. In each case the interest upon these funds goes into the pockets of the treasurer, whose office is therefore a tempting one to occupy. I was surprised to hear some speakers declare that it was against human nature to expect any man to occupy this and similar positions without gaining some personal benefit. I was more than surprised to find a man bearing a good, honored Scotch name speaking in this way. Strange to say, the man who presided over this conference was considered the greatest boodler, or the most corrupt man, in the city council.

As usual, without a moment's warning, I was called upon to speak, and when I informed the meeting that men occupied similar offices in our country without remuneration they expressed

the greatest surprise. There I met men who were described as politicians only—that is, they made public service their business and lived by it.

Although America is perhaps one of the freest from snobbery of any country in the world, there is, nevertheless, great pride in descent, especially in belonging to such societies as "The Daughters of the Revolution," restricted to those descended from soldiers who won American independence.

It was gratifying in the extreme to find in these circles how cordially they endorsed every allusion to the bonds of friendship binding the two countries.

PITILESS HASTE TO BE RICH.

The most disappointing feature of the city of Chicago is the haste to be rich or accomplish something. If a man does not succeed in Chicago, I was told, it is his own fault and he should retire from it. Business men have no toleration or sympathy for a man who cannot succeed, and if he fails in one trade he must try another. I have spoken to men who have engaged in four or five entirely different trades.

There is something almost pitiless toward man and beast in the driving force of Chicago. "Heedless if a few be crushed, as some are ever" in the race for wealth. I saw more horses in Chicago with their eyes blurred or knocked out than I have seen in all my life put together. There is a rough, slipshod way of driving through things which jars upon the nerves until you can brace yourself for it; but to a man who loves a life of activity and has the desire to accomplish something, Chicago has many attractions. It is perhaps destined to be the largest city in America. At present it is growing at the rate of about 90,000 per annum, and its position is so commanding that, apart from its own industries, it will remain the greatest distributing center in the world. Although there are some terrible elements in the life of Chicago and tremendous business, social and political problems to solve, yet, bearing in mind what has and is being done, I have not the slightest doubt that her best

citizens will be able to grapple with them.

BUSINESS MEN ALOOF FROM POLITICS.

To me one of the saddest features in America was the way in which ordinary business men held themselves aloof from municipal life, with the result that corruption exists to an appalling extent. Men are engaged in business or politics. In fact, the danger in America is in getting absorbed in business to the exclusion of everything else. The object in every department of life seems to be "making money" or "advancing your position." For this reason even the government of the country, municipal, state or national, is frequently used with this end in view. In New York I was introduced to a gentleman by a friend of mine, when the following conversation took place:

"Mr. Blank tells me you are retired from business." "Yes." "You are a young man to retire from business. What do you propose doing to fill in your time?" I replied that I had not yet decided what I should do, but it was more than likely I should go into public life, possibly Parliament, if an opportunity opens. My friend then said: "Excuse me, Mr. Price, but if you tell anybody else that in this country, he will come to the conclusion you have failed in business and that you are going into public life as a last resort."

The devotion of disinterested men to public life as well as business is of rare occurrence in America. In fact, it is this very aloofness from the government of the country of its best people, which is the chief reason of so much corruption in public life. When things get past endurance, some of the best citizens combine and form a committee, with the object of turning out the powers that be. Chicago was the first city in which a few respectable citizens combined and formed the "Municipal Voters' League," with the object of purifying its government. Prior to an election, this committee takes into consideration the life and antecedents of the respective candidates for the various offices. Immediately before the elec-

tion the league issues a statement recommending certain candidates, and they publish without the slightest hesitation a record of the charges they prefer against those they oppose, and in no single instance has the committee yet been prosecuted for libel.

In New York a similar "Citizen Association" was formed, and in November, 1901, elected Mr. Seth Low mayor. He is a man of the highest ability and integrity, and very soon produced remarkable results, abolishing sinecure offices, purifying the police and securing honest dealing in government contracts.

On almost every occasion I referred to this deplorable condition of municipal and political life in America, when men frankly acknowledged I had put my finger on their weakest spot.

LESS ORGANIZATION OF LABOR.

Broadly speaking, there is not anything like the same trade organization in America as there is in this country. The last coal strike was the greatest effort of modern times to completely crush the power of trades unions. In America capital is very much better organized than labor. In a conversation I had with one of the managers of a great corporation I asked him whether he had any difficulties with his workers, when I found that the organization was so complete that if any agitator was found in their works he was immediately discharged. Detectives were constantly going through these works, discovering such men. The same detectives visited other works of the trust, and when a known agitator was discovered he was immediately discharged. At the same time it is well to admit that the general condition of labor in America is more satisfactory than with us. You never see the poverty and squalor associated with some of our cities, and there is a greater air of independence through the whole people. The demand for labor is so great that there is no difficulty in getting employment, and men are able to exercise a spirit of independence.

LONGER HOURS, HIGHER SPEED.

All the same, they work very much harder than we do. Nearly all the public works go on till 4 or 5 o'clock on Saturday afternoons, and while they are employed they seem to work at a very much greater speed than with us. In this connection perhaps I should mention a few particulars regarding the laying of bricks. There it is no uncommon thing for a man to lay 1,800 bricks in a day, while with us 700 is an exceptionally large number. An American firm a short time ago received a contract to build one of our largest hotels and brought over several representative men to "set the pace." Our trades union only allowed as a maximum 700 bricks to be laid in a day by one man, but in order to get over this difficulty the contractor offered twopence (2d.) per hour over the standard wage, on condition that the men should lay as many bricks as possible, with the result that in a short time our men laid 2,000 and 2,200 per man per day. From several managers I inquired whether there was any difficulty in the way of introducing labor-saving machines, and in all instances the reply was, "Certainly not." America, however, has during the last few years had such prosperous times and wages have been so high that men have not had the time or felt the necessity to organize themselves into unions. But a change is coming over the country and America will have to face a terrible conflict between capital and labor.

Perhaps I should say that, speaking generally, America does not make quite so fine a class of goods as we can produce in this country. In the shops I visited I found that many of the best class of goods, such as china, leather cases, jewelry, linen and cotton, as well as woolen goods, were all of British manufacture. There are, of course, exceptions to this rule. America for a time outstripped us in the manufacture of boots—the average price for a good pair being about 12 shillings or 14 shillings per pair. Their lasts and machinery were superior to ours.

Speaking generally, I have been

greatly impressed with the terrible competitor America is likely to be to this country. Men work harder and there is no stigma, such as there is in this country, attached to labor. All classes, irrespective of wealth, qualify themselves for their business. The wealthiest manufacturer sends his son to college and technical schools, so that he is perfectly competent to take his share in the business. Here men seem anxious to purchase estates and forget their traditions. In America there is no such feeling. Another advantage America has, or gives its citizens, is that brains and character alone are the only necessary qualifications for success. In New York I asked an old Edinburgh friend what he thought of America. His reply was, "It is a grand country—a democratic country. Here they never ask how a man starts; but how he finishes." There you have no social barriers to fight, but simply to bend all your energies and ability to accomplish the object you have in view, and no questions will be asked as to your progenitors.

AMERICAN INVASION OF ENGLAND.

Looking at the subject without prejudice, I have no hesitation in saying America deserves to succeed to a greater extent than we do, because she works harder and uses her brains and resources to the utmost extent. The result is, she is flooding our markets in all directions with her products. The first thing you meet in the office of my late firm is an American time-checker. Second, the American roller-top desk. Third, the American typewriter. Fourth, the American letter-files and drawers. Fifth, the American letter-copying press. Sixth, the American figure column calculator. The result is that almost every appliance in use in the office, excepting books, pens and ink, were American inventions and manufactures. The same thing applies to printing works. I visited one the other day where almost every machine of the best class was American. These things raise several serious problems. Are we doing our

utmost to meet such competition? Honestly, I think not. It is not that we are without brains, energy and ambition, but that our people have been content to rest on their oars. We have passed through such prosperous times that we have been content to accept things as they are, quite forgetting that meantime America is forging ahead with tremendous speed and strides. At the head of that nation there is at the present time a man of tremendous energy and lofty ambition. From the last address of the President to Congress you find what a martial ring there was running through it. To me there is also a certain sadness in it, inasmuch as America has, as President Roosevelt says, during the last four or five years, departed from its traditional policy. On all sides I find Americans desirous of becoming an imperial race. There is a feeling that they are born to rule the world. The same spirit runs right through Mr. Carnegie's addresses. To those of us who believe in the Gospel of Peace, the defection of America from this policy is a serious matter for the races of the world. Twenty or twenty-five years ago we used to discuss the question of disarmament, and America was referred to as a magnificent example of a people whose sole energies were devoted to the interests of industry and peace. A great change has come over her people. Professor Goldwin Smith has pointed out in a book recently published, "The Commonwealth and Empire," the dividing of the ways. Some of her legislators and senators, such as Senator Hoar, constantly rise to protest against the new trend of things, but all in vain. There is a new spirit in the people, a spirit which I confess I look upon with great misgiving. The only consolation is that the American people themselves are little

inclined to give their own energies to the arts of war. Tempting offers are made in vain to secure men for the army and navy. For so long as people are highly paid for their labor, it will not be possible to tempt them from industries by such a wage as the American nation will care to pay for its army and navy.

TO BE FIT TO COMPETE.

So far as we are concerned, it would be madness to attempt to keep pace with America if she desires to become a great military nation. Our sole security is in the sobriety and industry of our people. And in order to make us fit competitors with this and other nations, we shall have to put our own house in order. Every time I return to this country from abroad, I am painfully struck with the drinking habits of the people. I do not wish to speak in any bigoted way, but something should be done to prevent the gross drunkenness we frequently witness on the street.

We must qualify ourselves from an educational point of view, as well as give closer application to other means and methods in our arts and industries. I have absolute faith in the vitality of the British race. Some think the old country is doomed—and unless we "wake up" it may become so—but for my part I believe it is only necessary to arouse her to her immense advantages and opportunities, when she will be able to give a good account of herself in the product of the best class of articles for the highest form of civilization. In any case it will remain to us, whatever be our destiny, so to conduct ourselves in the healthy contest among the nations as to retain our old proud title of a Christian, a noble and a liberty-loving people.

The International Peace Congress at Boston

The preliminary program of the International Peace Congress has just been issued by the Congress Committee. The Congress opens on Monday, October 3. On Sunday, the previous day, the services in the leading Boston churches will be devoted to the Peace cause. In the afternoon a special meeting will be held in Tremont Temple, with addresses by leading European and American ministers, emphasizing the duties of the churches and religious men in the Peace cause. In the evening there will be a musical prelude or consecration service at Symphony Hall. The Handel and Haydn Society will sing, and there will be a full orchestra. Dr. Hale, who has been well called the Nestor of the Peace cause in America, will conduct the responsive reading; and there will be a brief address by Dr. Percival, the Bishop of Hereford. In the distribution of tickets for this service, which are free, preference will be given to those coming to the Congress from outside Boston. Early application by mail to the Peace Congress Committee, 20 Beacon Street, Boston, will be necessary to secure seats.

On Monday, at Tremont Temple, the Congress will be welcomed by Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State, in behalf of the National Government, Hon. John L. Bates, Governor of Massachusetts, and Hon. Patrick A. Collins, Mayor of Boston.

The deliberative meetings of the Congress will be held at Tremont Temple every forenoon during the week, beginning Tuesday. At Tremont Temple on Tuesday evening the meeting will be devoted to the Work and Influence of the Hague Tribunal. Hon. Andrew D. White, chairman of the United States delegation at The Hague Conference will preside; and there will be addresses by M. Gustave Hubbard, member of the French Chamber of Deputies and editor of *La Justice Internationale*, the French review devoted to the work of the Hague Tribunal, Hon. Oscar S. Straus, one of the United States members of the Hague Tribunal, Hon. William I. Buchanan, chairman of the American delegation at the late Pan-American Congress, and others.

At Park Street Church on Tuesday evening there will be a mass meeting of the Christian Endeavor Societies, which are making the Peace and Arbitration cause a leading feature of their work at this time.

On Wednesday evening, at Tremont Temple, the meeting will be devoted to the special interest and duties of business men in the Peace cause. There will be addresses by Dr. John Lund, former president of the Norwegian parliament, Mr. Walter Hazell, the eminent London publisher, Herr Georg Arnhold, a member of the leading banking house in Dresden, Mr. A. B. Farquhar of the National Association of Manufacturers, Mr. Frederick H. Jackson, president of the Providence Chamber of Commerce and others. Hon. John W. Foster will preside at this

meeting or at one of the meetings the next day.

At Faneuil Hall, on Wednesday evening, will be held the Working-men's mass meeting, preceded by a reception of the European labor delegates at the Revere House. Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, will preside at the Faneuil Hall meeting, and there will be addresses by Mr. Herbert Burrows of London, representing the Social Democratic Federation, Mr. Pete Curran, representing the General Federation of English Trade Unions, M. Claude Gignoux, representing the Co-partnership Societies of France, M. Henri La Fontaine of the Belgian Senate, Mr. George E. McNeill and Mr. Frank K. Foster of Boston, and others.

On the same evening at Park Street Church, will be held the special mass meeting for women. Mrs. May Wright Sewall of Indianapolis, chairman of the Peace Committee of the International Council of Women, will preside; and among others who will speak are the Baroness von Suttner of Austria, author of "Lay down Your Arms," Miss Sophia Sturge of Birmingham, Mrs. W. P. Byles of Manchester, Frau Selenka of Munich, Miss Sheriff Bain of New Zealand, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, and Miss Jane Addams.

On Thursday evening will be held the meetings devoted to Education and the Reduction of National Armaments. The list of speakers will be given in the program issued in a few days. Among the speakers at the latter meeting will be General Nelson A. Miles.

On Friday afternoon will be held meetings devoted to the Mutual Relations of Races and to the Progress of the Peace Movement in Europe. Among the speakers at the former will be Dr. Yamei Kin, the scholarly Chinese woman now visiting this country, Mr. E. D. Morel of England, representing the Aborigines Protection Society, and Rev. W. M. Morrison, for five years a missionary in Congo. Among the speakers at the latter will be William Randall Cremer, M. P., founder of the Interparliamentary Union, J. G. Alexander, Esq., of London, secretary of the International Law Association, Mr. G. H. Perris of London, secretary of the Cobden Club, and Professor Th. Ruyssen of Aix, president of the Association de la paix le Droit.

On Friday evening will come the dinner at Horticultural Hall, open to any friend of the cause on payment of \$2, with brief after-dinner speeches by many leading members of the Congress.

The Mayor will receive the members of the Congress on Wednesday afternoon, from 4 to 6, at the Public Library. The Twentieth Century Club will give a reception to the foreign delegates on Monday afternoon; and the Economic Club will entertain them at luncheon on Tuesday.

Notes and Articles of Social and Industrial Interest

Congressional Candidates to be Questioned and Pledged on Labor Issues

An elaborate plan of questioning candidates for congress upon matters of popular and labor interest is being pushed by the American Federation of Labor in co-operation with various non-partisan organizations. A special number of the American Federationist was recently issued to call the attention of all trade unionists to the scheme and urge action by local unions. It describes the system as placing the campaign emphasis on "measures, not men," characterizes its method of securing legislation as "the trade union system as distinguished from party politics," and after outlining its inception and gradual development through actions by the Federation during the last twenty-five years, declares that an epoch making advance has occurred in the two years just past.

It has been found that a systematic questioning of candidates of all parties and publication of replies prevents the sidetracking of live issues by party managers. The questioning in each district is by a committee or committees of the trade unions in the district, working in unison throughout the country. * * * The national measures to which this system is to be applied in this year's campaign are anti-injunction, eight-hour day in government contract work, and more power in the people through the initiative and referendum.

Bills on these topics are printed in the form in which they will probably be introduced, arguments in their favor are presented, and the system for questioning candidates outlined in detail.

Working in harmony with this movement are a large number of persons especially interested in the initiative and referendum and who therefore lay all their stress on that issue. A "People's Sovereignty League" is being organized with state, county and township branches. Two questions will be submitted to each candidate for congress, by answering which in the affirmative he will pledge himself first, to vote "to immediately establish in the nation an efficient system

whereby the people may instruct their national representatives, the system to consist of the advisory initiative and advisory referendum until a constitutional amendment can be brought forward under this people's initiative and acted upon," and second, "if the people of this district select me as their agent in the House of Representatives, to vote as they by referendum ballot may instruct."

The forms of questions used by the People's Sovereignty League will be identical with those used by the American Federation of Labor and the National Grange. The latter organization is planning to agitate upon this issue and certain others in which it is especially interested.

Socialism in Colorado Opinion of the Springfield Republican

The Springfield Republican dissents emphatically from the opinions expressed by most newspapers of the conservative type that the avowedly socialistic tendency of the Western Federation of Miners is partly responsible for lawlessness in Colorado and justifies extreme measures to crush the Federation. The Republican takes a view which we have not seen held publicly hitherto. It contends that the very fact that the Federation is so definitely socialistic "tends to weaken rather than to strengthen the charges of organized criminality." To quote:

It was a serious mistake, tending greatly to weaken its position before people of intelligence in the contest for the crushing of the Western Federation of miners, for the Colorado mine operators' association to include the following in its published indictment of the federation.—

That this organization, having formally and officially espoused the cause of the so-called socialist party, is opposed to our present form of government and is aiming at its overthrow, together with the abrogation of the present condition.

And this is held up, on a parity with the alleged lawless and highly criminal record of the federation, as the justification of the resort to military rule and mob violence for ridding the state of these federalists.

As a matter of fact this charge, if true, tends to weaken rather than to strengthen the other charges of organized criminality. There isn't much hope of anything better

than disorderly and violent methods from a labor union which makes of its own particular efforts, through strikes and otherwise, to gain better wages and hours and other conditions of employment—which makes of such efforts a finality in the working out of the labor problem. But there is hope of something better from a labor union which is able to perceive the insufficient and temporary character of such a line of effort, if not its intolerability when disorder becomes an essential agency for even a temporary success, and which looks to changes through the orderly processes of lawful enactment, change even of a socialistic nature, to establish for the wage classes that share in the industrial product which justly belongs to them and which they claim not now to enjoy in full measure.

It is folly or ignorance to assert that socialistic demands are opposed to our form of government, or that those who make them are aiming at the overthrow of this government and its constitution. Nothing of the sort. Not a line need be changed in most of our constitutions to enable the government, state or national, to enter upon large schemes of public ownership, and the essential principles of the American government would not be shaken at all by the adoption of such projects as the public ownership of railroads or of mines, any more than it is by municipal ownership of electric light plants. It is a question simply of expediency; not of fundamental republican principles. If the Western Federation of Miners is able to entertain ideals of a lawful and peaceable adjustment of the labor problem, be the said ideas ever so radical or illusory, it cannot be entirely devoted to that conspiracy of violence and crime which is charged against it.

The Closed Shop in the New York Building Trades

Mr. Haves Robbins, in an editorial in the Boston Transcript, makes some startling pungent remarks anent the closed shop issue. Commenting upon the troubles in the New York building trades where the closed shop has been maintained to all intents and purposes he says:

The closed shop represents the extreme outpost of trade union demand, and here they have it in lavish measure....In the New York case practically all that was asked of the unions was that any dispute that might arise should be referred to the joint arbitration committee provided for, and no strikes declared....The employers make no issue on the closed shop situation—on the contrary prefer it; but they insist naturally, that the labor end of the contract must be lived up to....It was the closed shop that was going to enable trade unions to guaran-

tee responsible service and strict fidelity to the terms of all agreements with employers.

In view of the recent disturbances he asks, "What is the trouble? Is the closed shop no final panacea after all?" For the answer we must await authoritative accounts of the grievances and course of events in the disgraceful row which is now going on. We shall not be surprised to find that both sides are more or less at fault."

A step of importance and good sense was taken by the International Typographical Union at its recent St. Louis convention when it upheld the action of a foreman in discharging a workman for incompetency.

Cause of Strikes

The statement made by E. F. DuBrul, commissioner of the National Metal Trades Association, before the National Association of Manufacturers, that "eighty per cent. of the strikes in this country are the fault of the employer" is repeated by him together with the following explanation, in the "Boston Transcript":

Strikes and labor troubles are the fault of the employer to a very large extent because the employers, whom one would naturally expect to be more intelligent than their workmen and therefore more familiar with industrial conditions, have not studied questions of labor. They are too busy to read things about labor, and too busy to bother about many things that go on in their own shops. It is the employer's fault if he has a foreman or superintendent who treats the men unfairly, thereby giving an excuse for the agitator to come in and work on the prejudices of the workmen, drawing away their loyalty from the employer to the organization. His fault is probably one of omission rather than of commission. Many strikes in their last analysis are demands for better shop management, and it is a fact that shop management is being reduced to a science; the abuses where they have existed in the piece-work system are caused by a lack of definite knowledge on the part of both employers and employees as to how long a job should take, and so, too, with many other things. It is the employers' fault that employers' associations were not formed long ago to control strikes.

John Mitchell's Influence at the Miners' Congress

Editorial in United Mine Workers' Journal.

One of the incidents of the Mining Congress at Paris, to which President Mitchell and Secretary Dodds of District 5 are dele-

gates, was the offering of a resolution that when a strike occurred in Europe among the miners a sympathetic strike should be started in the United States or vice versa. It is hard to comprehend the state of mind which could evolve such a phantasm. It was the pinnacle of folly. Suppose that a strike occurred in Austria, Belgium or Wales, what justification would that be for the miners of the United States to break their contracts? It would, as urged, "show that the miners were a world power," and it would also show that reason had been dethroned and folly had usurped its place. It would have been more to the point to have entered upon a scheme to render mutual financial aid. It was due to the eloquence and sound reasons advanced by Messrs. Mitchell and Dodds that this chimera was side-tracked. The two have won renown for themselves and shed lustre upon their organization, for the sensible, manly and wise course they have pursued upon all questions discussed.

Ethelbert Stewart to the Employers

Says They Dictate Character of Trade Union Membership

[At a "smoker" in Chicago, a few days since, Mr. Ethelbert Stewart was called on for a three-minute rejoinder to what had amounted to a running fire of criticism of the make-up and conduct of trades unions, by a body of employers and their attorneys, especially the latter. The general trend of discussion can be easily seen by the nature of Mr. Stewart's remarks, which are here reproduced.]

The "rabble" will learn how to use or abuse power as he sees it used or abused. The teamsters in the Chicago Teamsters Union are the same teamsters who have been in the business here for years, abused, mistreated, under-paid, over-worked, treated like dogs by their employers, the police, the street car companies, and the public. They were not a "high-handed lot of brigands," else why did the respectable gentlemen employ them?

The unions unionize the men they find in the industry or the occupation.

Mitchell unionizes the men he finds in the mines; the coal operators, not Mitchell, dictate the membership of the Miners' Union and fix its character by the character of the men they hire. The waiters in Chicago were represented as "the very settlin's of hell" when they became unionized; they were the same waiters the restaurants and hotels have been employing for years. Jere Sullivan never selected one of them. But you say that they are all right till they get the power that unionism gives them. The ignorant imitate; they use power as they see it used; abuse it as they see it abused.

If you are wise, learned and respectable want to see power used wisely by the rabble, set one, just one, but for God's sake, set one example. Besides, since it is you, the employers, who dictate the membership of trades unions by your selection of employees, had you not better give a thought to that when you employ? The unions have no connection with steamship companies, no entangling alliances with Ellis Island or New York padrones; no trade union leaders since time began ever sent word to a saloon-keeping employment agency to "ship us four hundred members to join our local today." But employers get this shipment installed in an industry, and when it becomes essential to organize this industry all those fellows you had shipped in cattle cars must in the very nature of things be taken into the union, because you have got them in the industry. The union has no choice in this matter; it simply must.

Now, if your employees, your industry, is to be unionized, and the character of that union membership is ultimately dictated by you as employers, ought you not have a little thought for the future in this matter of employment?

You are building this Frankenstein yourselves, gentlemen. You are constructing it bone and blood and flesh tissue. The union gives it life, and that the American working-man must do to prevent it from killing him.—Coopers International Journal.

New York's Municipal Exhibit

In the New York City Building on the Model Street at the St. Louis Exposition are a number of exhibits instructive to all who are interested in municipal improvement. Here are to be found models of the great works and buildings which have cost the city millions to erect.

Two of New York's great undertakings are represented in aluminum models, each about thirty-four feet long, of the Brooklyn and Williamsburg suspension bridges, perfect in every detail. Both bridges represent distinct styles of bridge construction, the piers of the former being built of masonry and the latter of steel. Photographs showing the entire bridge system of Greater New York are part of this exhibit.

A most interesting exhibit is that of the Department of Street Cleaning of New York, prepared under the supervision of Major John McGaw Woodbury, the head of that department. This consists of full-size models of the single and double ash and garbage wagons, and the artillery-shaped wagon for removing the steel cans containing street sweepings.

The most interesting, however, of Major Woodbury's exhibits are the models of the incinerating plants for the burning of dry

rubbish and garbage. The former model is a working one, operated by a direct 110-volt motor, and an efficient demonstrator explains how the city, which formerly paid 80 cents per cubic yard to remove this class of rubbish, now disposes of it at a profit of about \$130,000 per year, derived from a contractor who pays this sum for the privilege of sorting the rubbish and obtaining anything of value contained therein.

Expensive models are displayed of the new public library known as the Astor-Tilden-Lenox. New York City's greatest undertaking—the Underground Rapid Transit Railway tunnel—is represented by a costly model that is perfect in every detail.—St. Louis Republic.

Released Prisoners Take Pride in Repaying Loans

Eleven women have been released from the bridewell this month by having their fines paid from the fund which Mrs. Emily Fabyan established for that purpose. Nine of these either have returned in full the money advanced to them or promptly have met the installments as they fell due. The two in default owe \$1 apiece—one week's installment in each case and they promise to pay this as soon as they can.

Such is the report which Supt. Sloan made yesterday of the first month's history of a charity which experts derided as a waste of money. They figuratively are taking off their hats to the superior wisdom of Mrs. Fabyan.

Mr. Sloan, who has had charge of the fund, was one of the doubters. When Mrs. Fabyan gave him \$100 and told him to use it in paying the fines of such girl prisoners as he might select—they to repay the money at fixed times and in agreed sums—he said he would do the best he could, but he did not believe the fund would last long. He was of the opinion that as soon as the girls were released they would forget their good resolutions, and that little if any money would come back to replenish the fund.

But Mrs. Fabyan had another opinion.

"Put them on honor" she said to the superintendent, "and they will pay it back. Most of them could be earning an honest living if they were out of here, and they should have the opportunity to do it."

"It took practically all of the original \$100 to pay the fines of the eleven girls released," said the superintendent. "With what has been paid back in full and the regularity with which the installments are being met as they fall due, the fund can be said to be fully replenished. All that is really owing is \$2, and I believe we will get that. The promptness with which the money has been returned would delight any business man with a lot of outstanding credits. I doubt if there is a business house in the city which can make an equal showing in its collection department.

"One girl whose fine was \$6 came back with all the money the third day after she had been released. It was not yet due, but she explained: 'I have a chance to go to another city, where I can live decently, and I wanted to pay this debt before I left.' The plan certainly has proved a success."—Chicago Tribune.

Crerar Library Gets Valuable Collection of Books on Economics

A collection of \$33,000 volumes on economics and finance, valued at \$100,000 and considered the most complete in the world, collected after long and patient labor in Europe by Clement W. Andrews, were received in Chicago for the Crerar library. Modern and ancient publications were fairly ransacked by the librarian in his efforts to gain for Chicago a collection of works on this subject that should surpass anything of the sort in this country and even in the world, and in this it is believed he has succeeded.

Shortly after reaching Europe on his mission, Mr. Andrews learned that the Norwegian government was about to make a similar collection. Immediate and energetic action was the need, and Mr. Andrews was equal to the demand. He set to work and had the market on works on economics fairly cornered before the Norwegian government ever knew that he was a competitor. Most of the books are in English, but the German, French and Italian philosophers who have written on the subject are given a thorough representation. Rare manuscripts and documents from Germany form a prominent part of the collection. Truelove, the famous English collector, rendered Mr. Andrews material assistance in his work.

The greater part of the works will be sent to the Newberry library, there to remain till the Crerar library is ready to take charge of them.—Chicago Chronicle.

National Consumers' League

The fifth annual report of the National Consumers' League is notable chiefly for announcing the greatest achievement the league has ever recorded—the passage of the amendment to the labor law in relation to tenement-made articles. It was drafted at the league's request by Dr. Lawrence Veiller, who was the first deputy commissioner of the tenement house department of the city of New York, under Mayor Low. Besides the text of the law, the report has an analytical exposition of its far-reaching and effective provisions, already described in *The Commons*. Perhaps the next most important of the many interesting features of the secretary's report is the discussion of the factories maintained in public institutions without permitting

state factory inspection. The league properly withholds its label from the products of these subsidized needle trades, there being no guarantee that the state factory requirements as to the age of beginning work and the length of the working day are complied with. The growth of this consumers' movement in the number of its adherents, the extent of territory represented—twenty-one states having fifty-eight leagues—and its increasing efficiency in disclosing conditions and effecting remedial legislation, assures large fruition from very toilful and patient seed sowing.

The proper goal of the co-operative movements is, according to J. Bruce Wallace, Percy Alden's able successor at the Mansfield House Settlement, to offer "to the willing workers of the country, and even of the world, an opportunity of livelihood under fraternal arrangements."

Municipal Electric Lighting in Chicago

Chicago's experience with municipal electric lighting for public purposes will be a hard nut for corporation statisticians to crack. According to the report of the city authorities the total cost of the average number of arc lights in 1903—4,827—was \$262,888. Under the system of renting from private corporations these lights would have cost \$559,936. The saving, therefore, was \$297,048. Yet the city paid in wages from 15 to 33 per cent more than the private corporations. To have rented these lights for the 16 years of municipal ownership and operation would have cost \$3,895,812, and the city would now have nothing to show for it all except a package of vouchers and a memory of street lights that had glimmered in the past. But under municipal ownership and operation, in spite of high wages and incidental grafting, the city has spent only \$3,720,099 (\$175,713 less than the rentals would have aggregated), and has to show for it besides a memory of lighted streets a lighting plant of its own, which has increased from a system of 105 lamps in 1887 to one of 4,827 in 1903.—Louis F. Post in *The Public*.

Italian Immigration into Canada

Italian immigration, which has been so noticeably on the increase to all the large centers in this country during recent months, is now being felt in Canada. The Labor Gazette for July, issued by the Department of Labor of the Dominion of Canada, estimates that via Montreal during the past year no less than from 6,000 to 8,000 Italian laborers have come to Canada either direct from Italy or from the United States. "During the months of May and June the number of these Italians without employment in the

City of Montreal was such as to occasion considerable discontent among the Canadian workmen of that city, and also considerable hardship among the Italians themselves."

This state of affairs led to an investigation by a deputy minister of labor whose report urged a further enquiry under oath and a commissioner is now about to conduct this concerning "the circumstances which have induced Italian laborers to come to the city of Montreal from other countries during the present year, the persons engaged directly or indirectly in promoting their immigration, and the means and methods adopted in bringing about such immigration."

A Village Labor Day

Labor Day is celebrated locally at Morgan Park, Illinois, in a way to give impetus to plans and efforts for village improvement. The Morgan Park Improvement Society is one of the oldest if not the oldest organization of its kind in the west. Through the unselfish public spirit of its members much has been accomplished in beautifying and rendering attractive this favored suburb of Chicago.

This year the program for the Labor Day celebration included addresses, music by a band, field sports, a flower parade of carriages, and chorus singing. The two addresses were confined to matters meant to inspire in the hearts of the citizens a spirit of civic pride. The popularity of these annual meetings has been steadily increasing and this year the gathering numbered over three thousand. Many Chicago people avail themselves regularly of this opportunity to escape the noise and dirt of the great city by visiting this highest elevation in Cook County with its graceful lawns and shade trees, and its country surroundings.

Chicago's Experiment in So- cial Redemption

The extensive plans of Chicago's South Park Board form the material for an exceedingly interesting article in *The Independent* for September 15, by George L. McNutt entitled "Chicago's Ten-Million Dollar Experiment in Social Redemption." The social features of the enlarged park system of the South Side, such as public baths and swimming pools, neighborhood park houses for the assembly and recreational use of the people, and many additional playgrounds are all described and the designs displayed. It will be recalled by readers of *THE COMMONS* that its June number contained illustrations and an admirable statement of these various accomplishments and proposals of the South Park Board from the pen of Mr. J. J. Foster, its superintendent to whose painstaking care much of the success will be due. He is a

man of large vision for the city's welfare and he knows how to bring his dreams to realization. Mr. McNutt aptly quotes someone as saying that "Foster is a million dollar man; million dollar men may be worth more to a city than millionaires."

Mr. McNutt is a good and long time friend of THE COMMONS and some of his contributions to our columns will be remembered by regular subscribers. His experiences as day laborer, for which calling he left the pastoral ministry, have given him rare insight into the social movements of the day and have endowed him with a vital and intensely interesting way of presenting to the people his message of Christian brotherhood.

Notes of British Philanthropy

In the July number of Social Service, published quarterly by Elliott Stock of London, the Rev. J. B. Grant of Glasgow tells of the progress made in that city by a philanthropy that is businesslike enough to be paying four per cent. Through the Central Public House Trust Association and the Glasgow Workmen's Dwellings Company Mr. Grant shows how incentive to greed has been removed and private conscience has triumphed over legal conscience. "Whether it (the Public House Trust) has had a fair chance it has demonstrated the possibility of retaining the tavern as a social exchange, while at the same time reducing the terrific forces of evil inherent in it to very much modified power." Mr. Grant is hopeful that this combination of philanthropy and business may in the near future attack the "finance of poverty," so that the poor man shall no longer give up fifteen cents for the use of fifty cents for a year instead of two cents for which the rich man may get the same loan. Conscience and capital, Mr. Grant thinks, are surely not incompatible.

In "Killing by the Community" the following story gives the key to the way out: "A friend of George Eliot's has told how, while they were talking together, she had occasion to save by an instinctive movement a mantelpiece ornament which had been shaken, and in replacing it said: 'I hope that the time will come when we shall instinctively hold up the man or woman who begins to fall as naturally and unconsciously as we arrest a piece of furniture or an ornament.'"

In "Children's Courts" the writer looks forward hopefully to the time when England and Scotland will follow Ireland in its recent action as regards the establishment of a system of juvenile courts, so well known in this country, with an attendant probation system. The need may be realized when we consider that for the state of Michigan "there is only one dependent or delinquent child to every 12,000 of the population, whereas it is calculated that the proportion in London is one in 200 and in Ireland

one in 100. By the way, Chicago's probation officers number less than half the ninety-six stated in this article.

The announcement by *McClure's* that Charles Wagner, author of "The Simple Life," is to visit America for the purpose of lecturing, and studying our institutions suggests the possibility of some painful paradoxes and perplexing contradictions which this apostle of simplicity is likely to encounter in America. He will find his book applauded by ladies in silk trains and costly tailor-made dresses, and his message commended by club men as they clink their champagne glasses at banquet tables elaborately given in his honor; he will find his book in the hands of teachers and pupils who belong to schools so highly elaborated that all parties connected therewith are ever hanging on the boundary line of nervous prostration from artificial conceits; he will find preachers trying to embellish his gospel of simplicity with all the decorations of elaborate ritual, complicated creed and social exclusiveness, all of which goes to show how much easier it is to commend the simple life than to live it. To endorse simplicity is easy; to realize it is the last achievement of the saint and the final test of the sage.—Unity.

Tree planting is to be encouraged in Chicago by a society organized for that purpose. It especially hopes to increase the number of trees planted along the streets between the sidewalk and the curb. Literature has been disseminated setting forth the advantages of health and beauty afforded by good trees, giving instruction about the care of them, the kinds best suited to city life and the untoward conditions of smoke and dirt, instruction about transplanting, care and cost involved, and suggestions about unity of action by groups of people living in the same immediate vicinity or on the same block.

Reduced Fares for Wage Earners in London

The parliamentary returns on London railways just issued give the following facts as to the advantage taken of reduced fares issued to the working people making their early morning trips to the city centers.

On the Central London Railway, the total length of whose lines is 5.77 miles, a uniform fare of 2d. is in force, but up to 7:30 in the morning a return ticket is sold to passengers for 2d. The number of workmen's tickets issued in the year 1902 was 2,732,009, these being return tickets, representing 5,465,818 passengers. The number of passengers availing themselves of the workmen's privileges is about 7 per cent of the total carried, and averages 20,000 per diem. Every-

one who travels on the railway before 7:30 a. m., irrespective of sex or position, purchases the 2d. return ticket. The privilege is not confined to workingmen in the strict sense of the word.

On the City and South London Railway in 1902 as many as 4,731,612 workmen's tickets were issued.

On the Great Eastern line during the same period 15,305,558 workmen's tickets were issued, of which 577,885 were at penny fare and 6,312,595 at twopence for the return journey.

Other companies issued tickets as follows: London, Brighton, and South Coast, 3,779,525; Metropolitan, 7,106,172; District, 5,208,990; Midland, 54,467, and South-Eastern and Chatham Railway, nearly 7,000,000.

Improving Homes of the Poor

The New Jersey Tenement House Commission has begun a crusade for the betterment of sanitary conditions in the thickly settled parts of the state's large cities.

The ten new inspectors, armed with authority from the state to enter any and all tenements, will have no difficulty in obtaining all information desired.

In order that the executive officer, sitting in his office in Newark, can see at a glance what the inspector has found, the latter makes a drawing of the house, giving the ground plan of building and yard, showing location of fire-escapes, pumps, cesspools, etc., and fills in answers to printed questions. All data is placed on a card and filed away for reference.

More Improved Homes for Wage Earners

For the purpose of increasing the number of model tenements, the City and Suburban Homes Company of New York has decided to issue \$1,000,000 additional capital stock, the amount outstanding now being \$1,730,000.

Organized in July, 1896, to provide improved homes for wageearners at current rates of rental, the company now owns three large groups of buildings for white people and a smaller model tenement for colored people, accommodating in all 1,238 families, and it has a thirty-two acre estate called Homewood, in Brooklyn, on which are 112 houses and two stores with apartments. The amount invested in these properties is \$2,-

712,735.52 and the assets of the company are \$3,046,540.76.

The company proposes to develop unimproved property which it now owns and to acquire and develop two or three new sites. The demand for model tenements is shown by the fact that the vacancies in all the company's buildings average only 1½ per cent of the available apartments, and the company houses about 6,000 people.

The shares are of a par value of \$10 each, the idea being to afford an opportunity to small investors and to thrifty wageearners to at once secure safe investments in 4 per cent stock and to aid in improving the condition of their less fortunate brothers.

London has \$100,000,000 invested in model tenements, and it is the hope of the City and Suburban Homes Company to make the investment in such properties in this city approximate more nearly to this amount, as the need for improved living quarters is even greater here than in the British capital.

Everyday Warfare Against Tuberculosis

To the Editor of *The Commons*:—In the valuable January number of *The Commons* appeared an article entitled "The Prevention and Control of Tuberculosis in New York City." I trust that your readers will be interested in a supplementary mention of certain everyday features of the warfare against tuberculosis, attention to which details will necessarily be the measure of efficiency of the efforts made in any community to stamp out tuberculosis. In and about New York city there are approximately 1,000 beds available for tubercular patients, or one to every twenty patients who would profit from hospital treatment. It is hardly conceivable that even the most liberal generosity can in our day provide 20,000 beds for the treatment of tuberculosis. It is obvious, therefore, that the warfare must be pushed into the tenement homes themselves. In addition to the general educational work which has already achieved such splendid results the teachers must be armed with the means to provide the diet and the sanitary quarters exhorted by their circulars.

How the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor has undertaken to supplement its teachings by material adjuncts to precept may be gathered from the following statement: For over two years the association has had on its list of families needing material relief an average of over 300 families owing their distress entirely or in part to tuberculosis. At the present time this number has risen to 350. For the six weeks following the first of January the expenditure for material relief for these families amounted to about \$1,000, more than half having been expended for special food supplies, milk, eggs, preparations of cod liver oil, etc., which are indispensable in building

up the weakened constitution and enabling it to battle with the disease. This sum, \$1,000, does not include expenses of administration, salaries of nurses, visitors and visiting cleaners, nor does it include second-hand garments, or furniture, or medicines, nursing and medical attention received from dispensaries at our request.

Not only food and medicines are required if we are to secure good results by treating tuberculosis in the homes. The association has given away fifteen beds to enable tubercular patients to sleep apart from other members of the family; moving expenses have been paid to better and lighter rooms, often-times entailing higher rents, which the association has borne; dental bills have been paid to enable the patient to masticate properly; clothing and bedding of every description have been given, special attention being paid to the need of underwear; several patients

have been removed from city homes and boarded in the country, in many cases the co-operation of relatives and even their hospitality having been secured; new and second-hand stoves have been provided to increase living accommodations by heating rooms which would otherwise be closed up on account of the cold, while coal in liberal quantities has been furnished; special shoes and braces for children suffering with tubercular bones, and sanitary appliances, such as spitum cups and disinfectants, are often necessary. Finally, we have a staff of four visiting cleaners who have gone among these families where the mother was ill, and in some cases where the mother was careless, to insure every precaution in the way of cleanliness and to teach other members of the family that cleanliness is the best preventive of infection.

WILLIAM H. ALLEN,
General Agent New York Association for
Improving the Condition of the Poor.

College Settlement Association

Myrta L. Jones, Editor

A Study in Contrasts

The Chalkley Hall Country Club of the Philadelphia College Settlement is a study in contrasts. No Country Club could be less "country" and maintain its character, even in the minds of the partial. The tale of its days is punctuated by the screams of the factory whistles; of its nights by the plunging and panting and shrieking of trains. Two minutes' walk from its front doors brings you up against the embankment of the Atlantic City Bridge Line of the Pennsylvania R. R.; two minutes from the back door and you reach the fence from which you survey the wide lying tracks of the New York line of the same system at the point known locally as "dead man's curve." Beyond the tracks rise the walls of the Vici leather works whose hum and rattle are insistently audible at Chalkley Hall until custom has dulled perception. The tracks hold the Club grounds in a V-shaped pocket. The ugliness of the industrial city is conquering the country and it is the last moments of a besieged stronghold soon to fall which we are utilizing to our great pleasure and benefit. Many there be who would not choose our Club as a

summer resort, but many again are ready to testify that much that does not glitter is pure gold, when the question turns upon the value of Chalkley Hall and its attractions. Let me give a picture, taken from the middle distance of our three years use of the place, the summer of 1903.

In round numbers 2,600 visits were paid to the Club. Some individuals made but one visit. Some few spent the whole summer and formed the responsible nucleus of the constantly changing household. The majority came again and again, for the Saturday half-holiday, for a week's stay, or for a day or two when work was slack. Sometimes whole families came, the men going daily to their work in town, and having their evenings and nights at the Club. In every way the effort was made to keep the use of the Club as informal and free as might be, with the maintenance of a system and order that would make livable comfort.

The regular household ranged in numbers from seven to forty, averaging about twenty-five. Picnic parties were numerous, falling sometimes as thickly as three per day, and presenting the greatest contrasts. About ten were



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family and neighborhood parties—tenants of the same tenement, or groups of relatives; one gave us a whole orphan asylum; one brought, in the same party, a three months' infant and a white haired grandfather who thought it "mighty unlikely he'd be here to get here another year."

A little old woman, who lives alone in an attic, found time to come only one day, she "had so much to do to keep things right at home." About forty-five picnics were entertained, and some fifteen "one night stands" of boys who came out and lodged, boy fashion, in a room with many cots, at ten cents a piece. One night five boys applied for a Saturday night "stand." Their spokesman said: "There's five of us but we only want three beds."

"That's absurd," said the manager, "you need five cots." "But we've only got thirty cents, Max and Dutch is shy their dimes."

"Well, you'll have to pay by the boy, not by the cot, and some of you that are flush must lend Max and Dutch their dimes."

With a little argument the loan was negotiated and there were no misfits of cots and boys.

Beside the daytime picnics many evenings were made times of special enjoyment. Saturday night was reception night and was always the equivalent of a party. Other nights brought birthday parties or wedding anniversaries or callers from town. Now and again there came a really quiet evening of a more simple domestic kind—better perhaps than the livelier ones.

All the labor of house and grounds and garden, except the cooking, was performed by the residents and visitors. Scrubbing, dishwashing, table setting, digging and hoeing, sweeping, bed-making, dusting, gathering vegetables and fruit—an endless round of occupations of utility to be worked off before one came to the ping pong, tennis, ball, swimming, boating, etc.,—the occupations of leisure and frivolity.

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Contributions from clubs of the Settlement raised through plays or special effort	150.00
Other sources, through the Treasurer	96.48

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While not stated in money terms, the gift of the use of the place is of course the most generous and effective of all gifts, being the foundation of all. No words can express our gratification at the spirit of perfect understanding and courtesy in this kindness on the part of the owners and the farmer in charge of the place. It has eliminated much of the possible care and anxiety in the management of such an undertaking. So true is this, that many episodes which have reasonably occasioned friction, have served rather to increase friendliness.

It is not easy to find a sharp line of demarcation between one season and the next at Chalkley Hall. The last picnic of 1903 was on November 15, when by special grace of the thermometer dinner was eaten out of doors. The season of 1904 may be considered to have opened in February. One stormy afternoon Miss Davis stood on the steps of 502 South Front street fumbling for her key. A child's head was thrust under her umbrella, held low to ward off the driving rain and snow, and an energetic young feminine voice said shrilly: "When will it open?" "When I can find my key," she responded shortly. "Aw, I don't

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EDWARD T. DEVINE, Ph. D., Editor

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mean the door, I mean the Country Club." "Oh, do you? Well, if the weather changes in time it will open late in June." "All right; I just wanted to tell you I was comin' when it opens, and Mrs. Kelly wants to know how much it 'ud be fur her and the baby. How much shall I tell her?"

A month later regular excursions were begun. Each year the demand comes for a longer summer and occasionally some one tells a dream of co-operative winter housekeeping.

From every respect it is delightful that this fine old colonial house with its grounds and gardens should have, up to the very end of its existence, such beautiful usefulness to human life. Its end will be an apotheosis in the hearts of its many children and lovers.

"Ridge Farm," a Resort of the East Side

BY L. M. A. LIGGETT

A few years ago Mt. Ivy was a lonely little stop on the Haverstraw branch of the Erie R. R. The traveler found on arrival, a red station, in charge of a middle-aged woman who was also post-mistress, express-agent and baggage-master; a dusty country road, apparently leading nowhere, and on the western horizon a range of beautiful mountains, the Ramapo. It took courage and imagination to think it a possible spot for the excitable East Side child, who, after the first visit, returned with wonder to his mother, and told of a country where "there was but one house on the block." But this one house, placed on a high ridge, with eighty acres of land surrounding it, has proved more and more of an attraction. Under its hospitable roof the College Settlement has entertained hundreds of city friends, camps have been put up for the young men and boys, and gradually the farm houses in the valley have been filled with boarders who could not be accommodated at Ridge Farm. The road to the station is still dusty but no longer deserted, the quiet peace of the station has been rudely broken, and on holidays

and Sundays it presents a distracting scene of confusion to the post-mistress, for the East Side has claimed Mt. Ivy for its own, the charms of Coney Island seem to pale before the freedom of its country roads and wild mountains. Their appreciation of the place is sometimes expressed, however, rather singularly, as when a little girl exclaimed: "Oh! I like this place, it smells just like fresh eggs," or a boy driving on a winding road wanted to know if all roads at Mt. Ivy were full of steers like that one," meaning the curves, or when a little girl shouted to her friends to "come and see the Guinea-hen who talked Italian"—but if unusual their appreciation is none the less genuine and the valley has become the happy land of pure delight for the neighborhood beyond the Bowery.

The first year of camp life was a rough experience for the boys, who had never slept or cooked out of doors. The night sounds were depressing, the rain a misery, and the cooking a torment, but with experience has come real enjoyment. The situation was well summed up by a camper as we lounged on the ground after a hot meal, served in a decent, clean fashion out of doors: "I don't believe," he said, "the millionaires in the Adirondacks get any more fun out of their camps than we do."

With the new camps have come men and boys, and gradually the simple life of a few women devoting themselves to a group of twenty children, which was the condition at first, has changed, and Ridge Farm has developed into a community life of young and old. At evening in the big hall it would be easy to imagine yourself in Ludlow Street, for the East Side brings its atmosphere with it, but instead of confusion, dirt and noise just outside, there are the stars, the black stillness of night, and the sweet scent of clover; instead of the narrow city there is the wide country.

It is the stillness of the country that impresses the children more than anything else. This summer two small boys were put to bed in a room by themselves; a resident went in later to see if they were asleep; it was twilight

Methods of Industrial Peace

BY NICHOLAS PAYNE GILMAN

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and the house was very quiet. "Oh! teacher," one of the boys said, sitting up in bed, "I just asked Sam if he didn't wish he was a girl so he could have a afraid, and he said he wished he could be one for an hour." It was probably the first experience the children had had of quiet and no wonder it was awesome and mysterious to them. At first even grown men would not go out alone after dark, and now after many visits, the big girls are timid to venture even with a crowd. A prize-fighter was horribly frightened by a calf while walking from the farm-house to the house and could not be persuaded to venture out again after dark for fear "some wild creature might attack him."

There is one club that has outgrown the big house, the matrons, whose family circle is yearly enlarging, and it is this club that needs the vacation most. The problem now before the College Settlement is how to get a separate house for this club where the babies can

live for many weeks each summer in the country.

A young mother sat looking out across the valley at the mountains, blue and purple with the passing cloud shadows. "To think of leaving this for a tenement where my little girl can play only in a kitchen full of soap suds or in a street full of diseases." There is the hopefulness and tragedy of evolution in this. The mother of that woman preferred the tenement to the mountain and was contented to let her children live as best they could in the street. To this younger generation has been given the longing for better things and the tragic inability to obtain them. There are many like this young mother among the friends of the Settlement and to them the house especially wants to give aid and encouragement in their struggle toward decent living and honest citizenship, for "in the fell clutch of circumstance they have not winced or cried aloud" and it is from such as these will come the salvation of the city.

From Social Settlement Centers

A new edition of the "Bibliography of Settlements" is being prepared. Names and addresses of new settlements, new material of old, and suggestions for the improvement of the next edition over the old will be gratefully received by the editor, Mrs. Frank Hugh Montgomery, 5548 Woodland avenue, Chicago, Ill.

University of Chicago Settlement

Situated at the center of the Stock Yards district, this settlement has been at the very heart of the great strike. On the same block with the headquarters of the striking unions, the residents have been in constant communication with the leaders and the rank and file. The head resident, Miss Mary E. McDowell, has resided there for over ten years. She did not hesitate to bear her testimony in the public press regarding the improvement in the conditions of the neighborhood since the organization of the packing trades unions in contrast with the demoralization and lack of community feeling which characterized the district when the workers were unorganized. The gymnasium of the settlement was freely at the disposal of the people during their enforced idleness for recreative and deliberative purposes. When the pressure for sub-

sistence began to pinch many families, milk was supplied for the children at reduced rate. Time and again Miss McDowell in public address and personal conference counseled with the thousands of striking working-men and women. When the final crisis came and the feeling grew more bitter, she did not hesitate to advise that the strike be called off.

To her and to another woman closely associated with the settlement work, Dr. Cornelius De Bey, were publicly attributed the personal effort with the leading packer which brought about his final conference with the leader of the strike that issued in its immediate settlement. Some noted students of social conditions came from a distance for temporary residence at the settlement in order to gain first hand knowledge of the situation. The attitude of Miss McDowell and her fellow residents demonstrates anew the possibility of maintaining the settlement's loyalty to the people of its neighborhood with-

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Whittier House, Jersey City

One of the striking things about the first decade of Whittier House is the progress in neighborhood improvement as shown by the lines of work abandoned by the settlement. Following out the policy so well pursued by South End House, Boston, Whittier House has encouraged municipal enterprise, and as soon as the city has enlarged its function sufficiently to minister to neighborhood needs the settlement has been glad indeed to discontinue its provision for their satisfaction. In this way there are no more classes in French, German, Latin, Higher Mathematics and English: a good night school is doing the work. The kindergarten, "for four years the only free kindergarten in Jersey City and for nine years one of our pet departments" has been discontinued that we might the better help with one which has been started on our street by the public school authorities." The dispensary has been closed because the municipal ones, better equipped, "are doing better work than we could in ours."

Surely this is a condition of affairs toward which every settlement should bend energy. Manifestly anything that can be done to extend municipal government functions toward the better satisfaction of the neighborhood needs is a way to "help people to help themselves" in line with a faith in our republican institutions, a faith we all most loudly profess, but which too many of us hedge upon when anything is to be entrusted to them. May the settlements lead in showing that genuine faith which hands over to the people in their organized capacity the things the people want done for themselves, and which, instead of railing at the incapacity of the people's management, sets about sincerely and honestly to co-operate with fellow citizens in the spirit of democracy to make what we profess to believe in realize our best hopes for its usefulness and success.

The head resident, Miss Bradford, reports cooperation with the state consumers league and with the organized store clerks for better conditions in the stores and a weekly half holiday.

Miss Bradford also calls attention once more to the wretched state of affairs so far as child labor is concerned in the glass bottle blowing industry. The conditions she describes after personal visits to the region in southern New Jersey and talks with employees and employers. Manufacturers and foremen were frank in confessing that they would not want their children working at night or in the health destroying transitions between greatly varying temperatures. She has always brought to bear all the influence of Whittier House for better legislation on the subject of child labor.

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The Commons for November, 1900

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The newly organized "Neighborhood Council" is perhaps one of the most interesting developments in the settlement's relations. This is composed of men in the neighborhood and made up of varying ages, denominations and occupations. It is for the purpose of helping in an intelligent and systematic manner the head worker and the house. It meets with the head worker once a month and will meet with the Board of Directors twice a year.

Moulton House Settlement, London

Magnificent new buildings were recently dedicated for the use of this settlement which works in connection with the Leysian Mission, both being under the auspices of the Wesleyans. The plant far exceeds anything before erected for social settlement purposes and marks the greatest development yet seen in institutionalized settlement work. The hall seats 2,000 people comfortably. Excellent and ample gymnasium facilities are provided for both sexes and all ages. An interesting feature is a roof garden, with an area of about 300 square feet, for open air preaching, lectures and concerts. This is accessible not only through the building, but also by a stairway from the street. The cost of the buildings amounts to about \$560,000.

An idea of the magnitude of the proposed work is gathered from the large provision for residents. It is expected that there will be no less than 60 residents giving their leisure to the social work of the settlement and these will be made up of students, business men, women workers and others. The Mansfield House Magazine, from which we gather the information concerning this extraordinary undertaking, says in comment that "if the spiritual power and effectiveness of this great new center of religious and social activity is at all proportionate to its size and to the financial expenditure upon it, there ought to be a vast change effected in the character of the district in which it is being established."

Chicago Commons

The College Settlement Association committee has assigned the incumbent of its scholarship, Miss Clara S. More, to residence at Chicago Commons for the first half of her scholarship year. The second half of it she will spend at the Association's settlements in New York and Boston.

For the eighth year the settlement fellowship maintained at the University of Michigan by the Students' Christian Association and a cooperating committee of the faculty is represented by a student of the University who will report to the sociological department her observations of the recreative life of an industrial community.

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The residents also welcome to their household life and neighborhood work Miss Florence A. Fensham, who for years has served with conspicuous ability in the faculty of the American College for Girls at Constantinople.

The Choral Club, as a memorial to a member whom they have recently lost by death, have organized almost their entire body into a guild of song for service at the call of the district visiting nurse.

The settlement will co-operate with the "Institute of Social Science and Arts" in helping to supply the students with field work and opportunities to observe philanthropic institutions and social movements of the city and vicinity.

Mansfield House, London

The annual Flower Show was even more successful this year than last in point of attendance, exhibits in the hall and attendance, and also so far as beautified back yards are concerned. Some of the more enthusiastic were able to work wonders in making a little paradise out of what was formerly either bare hard ground or a litter of rubbish. Prizes were given, for individual plants, groupings of flowers and plants, flowering plants, foliage plants, drawings of flowers, window boxes and gardens in back yards.

The vacation school is appearing in England. As yet, however, it is entirely the result of private initiative. A couple of years ago Mrs. Humphrey Ward started one in connection with the Passmore Edwards Settlement, and this last summer in the neighborhood of Mansfield House another has been in successful existence. Manual training was the chief indoor occupation and the attendance numbered 250 which was all that could be accommodated.

Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago

The Council of the Northwestern University Settlement has adopted the proposal of its head resident to discontinue the office for a year and leave the entire policy of the settlement to be controlled by the "House Meeting" of the residents one of whom Mr. Robins continues to be.

Neighborhood House, Denver

A very small beginning and a year of hard struggle led Neighborhood House to larger growth and the acquisition of a larger building. In this the activities have developed rapidly and become broader. The coming year seems bright in prospect and trained helpers are being secured to head up the work and increase its efficiency. The present building, which had been used by a medical college, is much transformed and has taken on the air of home life and all the accompanying cheeriness. Fifteen churches co-operate in the support of the settlement and its work is entirely undenominational. In

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addition to this maintenance a number of special gifts were received such as a library, the fitting up of the Woman's Club room and the completion of the gymnasium. A day nursery, kitchen garden, and other ordinary features of settlement work are carried on.

Book Review

The Better New York

By Dr. Wm. H. Tolman and Charles Hemstreet. 320 pp. \$2.00, net. Baker and Taylor Company, New York.

A more complete guide book to the social activities of New York City than this contribution from the American Institute of Social Service is difficult to imagine. Systematically the city has been gone over and with thoroughness everything of interest has been noted down for the convenience of any one who might wish to make a tour of inspection. Nothing either of public enterprise or private initiative for social betterment seems to have escaped the compilers, from a description of the lunch wagons of the Church Temperance Society to a list of the more celebrated paintings at the Metropolitan Museum. The city is divided into eleven districts for classification and the arrangement is so made that the investigator will be able to go the rounds without retracing a step. The work does not pretend to be a description of the Better New York, although one reading it to get a knowledge of the wide range of philanthropic activity would come near to accomplishing his purpose. Its great value lies in the fact that it gives one just enough of an insight to make him want to see for himself. One of the charms of the book is its carefulness to include the historical interest in its ramblings through the city, and the brief accounts of the development of a neighborhood as the life about it changed, throw an illuminative light on present conditions. After a reading of the book, one can readily appreciate the remark of Dr. Josiah Strong in the Afterword, that The Better New York has been a revelation "even to those who knew the best side of their city."

A small pamphlet issued under the same auspices and with the same object in view on a more limited scale, is entitled "One Week of Sight Seeing in New York."

Books Received

The American City

By Delos F. Wilcox, Ph. D., 423 pp. \$1.25 net. The Citizen's Library, The Macmillan Company, New York.

The Care of Destitute, Neglected and Delinquent Children

By Homer Folks. 251 pp. The Macmillan Company, New York.

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